THE HARBOUR OF ALL THIS SEA AND REALM

CEU MEDIEVALIA 17

Series Editor: József Laszlovszky
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The Harbour of all this Sea and Realm

Crusader to Venetian Famagusta

Edited by
Michael J.K. Walsh, Tamás Kiss, Nicholas S.H. Coureas

Department of Medieval Studies
&
Central European University Press
Budapest · New York

Budapest, 2014

1st edition

Technical Editor: Copy Editor: Frank Shaer
Cover design for the series by Péter Tóth
Cover Illustration: Detail from Stephano Gibellino's print of the siege of Famagusta, 1571.

Joint publication by:
Central European University Department of Medieval Studies
Nádor u. 9, H-1051 Budapest, Hungary
Telephone: (+36-1) 327-3051
Fax: (+36-1) 327-3055
E-mail: medstud@ceu.hu, Website: http://medievalstudies.ceu.hu

Central European University Press
An imprint of the
Central European University Limited Liability Company
Nádor utca 11, H-1051 Budapest, Hungary
Tel: +36-1-327-3138 or 327-3000
Fax: +36-1-327-3183
E-mail: ceupress@ceu.hu
Website: www.ceupress.com

400 West 59th Street, New York NY 10019, USA
Tel: +1-212-547-6932, *Fax*: +1-646-557-2416
E-mail: martin.greenwald@opensocietyfoundations.org

ISSN 1587-6470 CEU MEDIEVALIA
ISBN 978-615-5225-96-3

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The harbour of all this sea and realm: crusader to Venetian Famagusta / edited by Michael J.K. Walsh, Tamás Kiss, Nicholas Coureas.—1st edition.
pages cm.—(CEU medievalia, ISSN 1587-6470; 17)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-6155225963 (hardbound)
1. Famagusta (Cyprus)—Civilization. 2. Famagusta (Cyprus)—History. 3. Material culture—Cyprus—Famagusta—History. 4. Crusades. 5. Cyprus—History—Lusignan dynasty, 1192–1474. 6. Cyprus—History—Venetian rule, 1474–1570. I. Walsh, Michael J. K., 1968- II. Kiss, Tamás, 1976- III. Coureas, Nicholas.
DS54.95.F35H37 2014
956.93'01--dc 3

2014004412

Printed in Hungary by Prime Rate Kft.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The editors would like to thank the School of Art, Design and Media at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore for funding the conference *Historic Famagusta: A Millennium in Words and Images,* and the Centre for Eastern Mediterranean Studies at Central European University in Budapest for hosting it. Our thanks go to the delegates who made a considerable effort to travel to Hungary and then submitted their papers for this volume on time. The editors also wish to thank Dan Frodsham for agreeing to premiere his documentary *The Forty: Saving the Forgotten Frescoes of Famagusta* at the conference. Thanks also to the Bibliothèque nationale de France for permission to reproduce *Relatione di tutto il successo di Famagosta... 1572: le plan du siege* on the cover of this book, and to the staff and editors at CEU Press who brought this collection into being, in particular to the copy editor, Frank Schaer, for his very careful and thorough revision of the text. On a personal note Michael Walsh would like to thank the growing number of committed individuals who have taken the history and future of Famagusta to their hearts and channeled their expertise and enthusiasm into its welfare. He would also like to thank his family for being there, consistently, to support this endeavour. Tamás Kiss wishes to thank Ágnes Kövesdi for never losing faith in him and in the success of this or any project he has ever undertaken. Nicholas Coureas wishes to thank his wife and children for putting up uncomplainingly with Famagusta as an adoptive member of the family on two distinct occasions.

'...tocius maris et regni sunt (sic) portus...'

—Louis de Mas Latrie
Histoire de l'ile de Chypre sous le regne des princes de la maison de Lusignan,
3 vols. (Paris, 1852–1861), II (1852), 212.

INTRODUCTION

I.

Michael J. K. Walsh

> *The scale of preserving the remaining historic elements of Famagusta is of such enormous proportions that one almost does not know where to begin. There can be little doubt that the Historic Walled city of Famagusta is a first-rate historic site and one that ultimately should be listed as a World Heritage Site. It is hoped that a new interim status in the UNESCO designation system can be formulated, but it is likely that until the current political situation is resolved, little can be done for most of the structures...It is therefore of vital importance to increase the world's awareness of the special qualities of Famagusta and to lay the necessary ground work for an appropriate evolution of the city from an isolated gem to an accessible, well protected, historic urban site.* [1]

The powerful words in the epigraph were written by inspectors from the US-based World Monuments Fund (hereafter: WMF) who visited Famagusta after the Historic Walled City was placed on its international Watch List of Endangered Sites in 2008. Six years after these words were written however little has changed as, for the same political reasons, Famagusta remains ineligible to apply for UNESCO World Heritage Site status, and cannot realistically implement a workable Master Plan without external support.[2] In 2010, the year the city was listed by WMF for a second time, a tantalizing glimpse of what the future might hold was offered by a European Union funded United Nations Development Program—Partnership For the Future (UNDP-PFF) project entitled *Study for Cultural Heritage in Cyprus.* This was a major undertaking to create an inventory of cultural heritage sites throughout Cyprus, and was particularly important for the Walled City of Famagusta as the organizers, from the

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1 R. Silman, and K. Severson, *The Historic Walled City of Famagusta* (2008), 9.

2 One such plan was drawn up in 2006, entitled *Famagusta Walled City Revitalization Plan* and had backing from the UNDP, PFF, UNOPS, the EU and the Famagusta Municipality.

outset, created an entire subcategory for it alone. The resultant report listed 250 individual structures within (and including) the walls, all of which were identified, ranked, reviewed, assessed and prepared for inclusion on a Web Based Geographic Information System. Of these, approximately thirty were singled out for a more comprehensive technical assessment and for priority treatment. These well-meaning recommendations remain in suspended animation because the political climate required to implement them is not yet a reality. The report itself remains unpublished. Grand schemes, it seems, are not serving Famagusta well and so any conservation efforts must remain, for the foreseeable future, piecemeal, short-term and reactive. With this in mind I am writing the Introduction to focus specifically on what *can* be done, indeed what *has* been done, rather than to dwell on the all-too-familiar list of reasons why Famagusta remains out of reach.

The Harbour of this Sea and Realm is derived from one such initiative which brought together an international team of leading scholars on Famagusta's history and cultural legacy in Budapest.[3] The gathering, entitled *Historic Famagusta: A Millennium in Words and Images,* was organized by The School of Art, Design and Media (ADM) at Singapore's Nanyang Technological University (hereafter: NTU) and The Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies (CEMS) at Central European University. The organizers' intention was to create a platform on which historians, art historians, and literary scholars could share their research on textual and visual representations of Famagusta between the final decade of the twelfth century and independence in 1960. In so doing, moreover, they would also facilitate a sophisticated interdisciplinary dialogue to broaden academic perspectives on its cultural and material legacy. In some ways it was a sequel to the inaugural meeting which had taken place in Paris in 2008, and from which *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta* (Ashgate, 2012) resulted.

Even if gatherings of this nature serve to keep the debate on Famagusta's history alive they contribute little by way of affording actual protection for its fragile and precious remains, something that with the passage of time becomes an ever more pressing necessity. The pilot scheme to undertake Famagusta's first mural stabilization – funded by NTU, WMF, and the Famagusta Municipality – therefore represented a giant leap forward when it took place in 2012. The church itself had been the subject of an international project from 2008 which declared it safe for re-use, but the paintings within it had gone undocumented and no provision for their welfare had been considered.[4] In an article on these very images published in 2007 I had signed off rather

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3 Simultaneously, another volume is being prepared that addresses recent scholastic advances in relation to Famagusta's Ottoman and British past. It will be published as: M. Walsh, *Famagusta: City of Empires -1571–1960* (Cambridge Scholars Press forthcoming)

4 S. Kemp, S Gray and G. Ballard, *SS Peter and Paul, Famagusta: Measured Building Survey and Structural Assessment* (Cyprus SAVE/USAID, 2008).

The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste

A unique wallpainting fragment preserved through international co-operation

A brief history of the monument

The foundations of the church of Saints Peter and Paul were probably laid in the Lusignan reign of Peter I (1358 – 1369), and funded by one third of the profits made on a single trip to Syria by a merchant of Famagusta, Simon Nostrano. After 1571 it was transformed into a mosque which is why the structure is still almost completely intact, though at the same time the interiors would have been plastered and the paintings hidden. This wall plastering and decoration was then lost permanently when the building was 'cleaned' during the British period and used as a storage space. The fragment depicting the Forty Martyrs survived because it was hidden by the mimbar (a pulpit for the delivery of sermons) which was built against the wall. In recent years the monument has served as a library and concert hall, and might soon be used as a municipal museum.

A detail of the painting before and after the conservation - restoration treatment

The legend of the Forty Martyrs

The scene is set in the Armenian town of Sebaste (now Sivas in Turkey) during the reign of Emperor Licinius in 320 A.D. who issued an edict stating that those who followed Christianity would be tortured and put to death. Forty Roman soldiers, who had openly confessed themselves Christian, were condemned to be exposed naked upon a frozen lake on a bitterly cold night so that they might freeze to death. Among the confessors, one yielded and, leaving his companions, sought the warm baths near the lake which had been prepared for any who might renounce their faith. One of the guards who saw a band of angels coming down from heaven and placing crowns on the heads of the dying saints, at once proclaimed himself a Christian, threw off his garments, and joined the remaining thirty-nine.

The wall painting

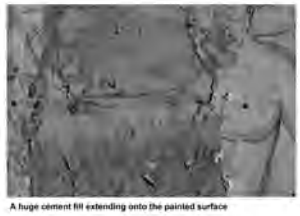
The painting is tentatively dated to the 15th century. Only fourteen of the forty martyrs can be made out on the fragment and so it is likely that the scene once covered the entire width of the bay wall. What remains of the painting is a masterly painted preparatory drawing, first sketched with a thin yellowish colour and then finished with elegant dark red lines. This drawing was done 'a fresco', that is when the lime plaster was still fresh. The actual painting, of which only traces of blue, green, yellow and red remain, was made on dry plaster by adding an organic binder, which is a much more perishable painting technique.

The condition before conservation

About 40% of the painted plaster had lost its adhesion to the masonry and some areas, especially along the edges of the fragment, were at risk of collapse. The surface was covered by various deposits such as dust, bird droppings and residues of the plaster which once covered the entire fragment. Fills made in more recent years with cement containg mortars were aesthetically detracting and hiding parts of the original colour. Numerous nails had been hammered through the surface, some holding an electric cable that was installed across the painting.

A particularly fragile area where the plaster has lifted from the masonry

A nail, bird droppings and plaster residues



A huge cement fill extending onto the painted surface

The conservation treatment

The painted plaster was stabilized through injections of a liquid mortar. All deposits covering the painting were removed,mainly by mechanical means. Nails were cut and/or removed with a micro grinding tool. The paint layer was cleaned with distilled water. All cement fills were replaced with a lime mortar imitating the colour and texture of the stone masonry. Smaller holes in the painting were filled with a light coloured lime plaster and kept slightly below the level of the painted surface. Small losses in the paint layer,standing out as white spots were toned back with neutral water colour glazes.

The conservation - restoration of the wall painting was undertaken in 2012 with the assistance of the Municipality of Famagusta, the World Monuments Fund, New York and the Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

Figure 1. Story Board for Intervention on *The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste* in 2012.
Photos and Text by Michael Walsh and Werner Schmid

pessimistically, singling out the exquisite fifteenth century sinopia titled *The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste* and concluding: "In its present state, however, it is vulnerable and therefore requires the creation of a sophisticated and regulated research and conservation environment."[5] A year later the preliminary field report submitted to the WMF warned much more directly: "The painting is fragile, and the plaster is unsecured (without protective edgings), leaving it vulnerable to further loss."[6] In 2010 a further warning about Famagusta's murals was reported back to New York saying: "The condition of wall paintings and historic plasters is generally bad or very bad. Severe lack of stability can be identified throughout, calling for urgent and timely intervention."[7] The subsequent programme of intervention / consolidation conducted in the summer of 2012, left the painting secure for the foreseeable future as Werner Schmid's end-of-season report explains in detail and as Dan Frodsham's meticulous documentary *The Forty: Saving Famagusta's Forgotten Frescoes* illustrates.[8] (Fig. 1)

Just as importantly, the project and its outcomes set an important precedent for future work in Famagusta: reminding us of the enormity of the potential artistic and historical losses the city faces, endorsing the oft-made requests for high quality intervention / conservation, reiterating the need for future projects of a similar nature, and demonstrating that emergency conservation work can in fact be done. The sceptic might feel that the conservation of a single painting is not an impressive return on the effort and money invested, but such critics may not fully appreciate the difficulties of working in Famagusta nor understand the broader implications that the success of the project suggest.

Simultaneously another Singapore-based project started at St. George of the Greeks, where art historians collaborated closely with graphics programmers and 3D modellers to create a virtual space based on an academically sound knowledge of the ruined cathedral (Fig. 2). The goals of this non-invasive assessment were to: document the endangered monument, develop techniques for visualization, and create a 3D model in a scholarly manner. The results were published in 2014.[9] It is now crystal-clear that heritage studies have moved into the digital age: they can traverse borders (especially relevant for Famagusta), create supra-national networks and offer academic expe-

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5 M. Walsh, "The Re-Emergence of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste", *Journal of Cultural Heritage* (2007), 85.

6 R. Silman and K. Severson, *The Historic Walled City of Famagusta* (2008), 7; repr. in M. Walsh, N. Coureas and P. Edbury, eds, *Medieval Architecture and History* (Ashgate, 2012), 275–87.

7 W. Schmid, *WMF Mission Report: Condition Assessment of Medieval Mural Paintings in Six Churches* (2010), 4.

8 W. Schmid, *Conservation of a wall painting fragment representing the "XL Martyrs of Sebaste" and of a smaller fragment with "two haloed heads"* (2012); see also http://www.wmf.org/video/forty-saving-forgotten-frescos-famagusta. Further interpretation of the image was also made possible and this was published in M. Walsh, "A Spectacle to the World, Both to Angels and to Men: Multiculturalism in Medieval Famagusta, Cyprus, as seen through *The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste* Mural in the Church of Saints Peter and Paul", *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies* (2013), 193-218.

9 S. Norris, M. Walsh & T. Kaffenberger, "Visualising Famagusta: Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Study of the Orthodox Cathedral of Saint George of the Greeks in Famagusta, Cyprus", *Archives and Manuscripts* (2014).

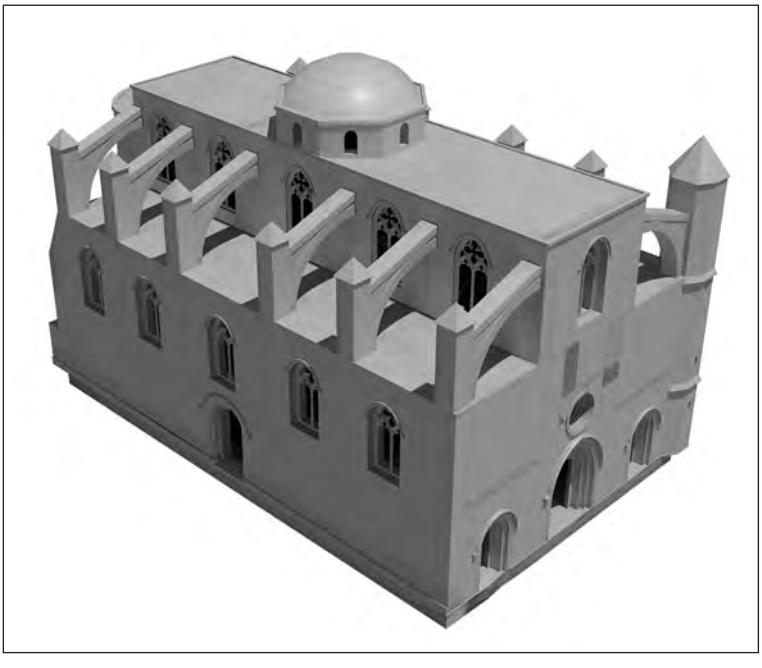

Figure 2. Draft Render of St. George of the Greeks by Sven Norris (NTU, 2014).

riences to a wider, better informed, and more engaged audience than ever before. The potential for Famagusta is breathtaking. In the future, might an accurate, interactive, virtual reconstruction be made of the entire historic city for use in the "global classroom"?

The next stage of the NTU/WMF/Famagusta Municipality collaboration began in 2013 and focused on the Armenian Church of Famagusta, concentrating in particular on the stabilization of the endangered centuries-old-frescoes therein. This work was interdisciplinary in nature: it involved the efforts of art historians and conservators, education specialists, laser scanning and virtual mapping experts, academics developing augmented reality and image recognition techniques, chemists, film-makers, scientists researching the effects of seismic activity on historic structures, and scholars involved in the refinement of the ever-emergent discipline of 'citizen science'. Additionally an oral history component was devised to emphasize that these monuments were living spaces until recently and should therefore receive relevant scholarly treatment as such. Other academics and industry professionals were encouraged to think of the church, and the city, as a laboratory in which to theorize the development of Heritage Science as a complex system, and to strategize management alternatives to the elusive UNESCO World Heritage inscription. The fieldwork is due to be completed towards

the end of 2014 and will be published shortly thereafter. The exquisite Armenian Church of Famagusta is a powerful illustration of what can be done, despite all other considerations.

In conclusion, it is my hope that this book, in some very small way, shall reach out to encourage those who continue to strive to understand, appreciate and protect Famagusta's heritage. Furthermore, I also hope that it shall impel those who have dismissed the city as being beyond help to reconsider. Can the essays in this collection fire the historical imagination, take steps to engender universal and trans-generational cultural empathy, and stimulate important probing questions about heritage management not only in Famagusta but in sites similarly adrift in other unrecognized states? That was, and is, the intention. Finally, as this manuscript goes to press, I note with guarded but nonetheless real optimism that a renewed UN brokered, and EU endorsed, series of reunification talks have begun in Cyprus. Might there, this time, be reason to hope for a brighter future for the historic monuments of Famagusta?

II

Tamás Kiss

The eleven articles which make up this volume were selected to offer an overview of Famagusta's Lusignan, Genoese and Venetian history and to make a further contribution to the understanding of the city's social and administrative structure, as well as of its architectural and art historical heritage in the period from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries. A close reading of the research presented here tells the story of Famagusta's diasporas and cultural hybridity, the two themes in particular that permeate all of the articles in this collaborative effort and constitute their most conspicuous unifying feature.

Chronologically earliest is the topic of Pierre-Vincent Claverie's article, an investigation of the life of Stephen Mezel of Claremont, bishop of Famagusta in the mid-thirteenth century. Claverie's micro-historical study looks at various stages in the life of Bishop Stephen, starting from when he liquidated his fortune in his native France and became established among Lusignan Cyprus' Latin clergy, to his implementation of papal decrees in regard to managing ecclesiastical property and resolving political tensions. In tracing this story, Claverie highlights the prominence in Cyprus' higher clergy of a diaspora originating from Claremont, namely the members of the Auvergnac and the Mezel families.

Also exploring Famagusta's diasporas, but this time through archival records related to Famagusta's late thirteenth to fifteenth-century history, are three further articles which investigate the everyday affairs of the inhabitants of Famagusta under Lusignan and Genoese rule. These articles direct our attention to such diverse subjects as the Frankish immigration from Acre to Famagusta around 1291 (Jacoby), apprentice contracts and the parties administering them in the same period (Coureas), and the mercenaries serving in the city under Genoese occupation (Balard).

Studying the notarial charters of the Genoese notary Lamberto di Sambuceto, Jacoby explores the Frankish emigration from Acre which began in the 1240s, especially after the fall of Jerusalem to the Khwarazmians, and the gradual departure of Acre's

Frankish population until it terminated in the mass exodus of Latin Christians in 1291 when Mamluk Egypt conquered the last remaining stronghold of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. It was claimed that by the end of the fourteenth century the majority of Famagusta's population was made up of immigrants from Acre; but as the notarial charters failed to indicate consistently the previous residence in the crusader city of the persons they refer to, Jacoby can only follow up the lives of a handful of Famagusta's refugees from Acre. Nevertheless, using the examples of Albertino de Plaça, Pietro and Andrea Vassano, Viviano de Ginnebaldo and others, Jacoby provides a valuable insight into how they escaped, how they retrieved their assets, their later business activities, and generally into the lives of the self-governing communities of Latin Christians who found refuge in Famagusta.

A second contribution that draws on notarial records is Nicholas Coureas' chapter on apprentice contracts among the notarial deeds of the Genoese notaries Lamberto di Sambuceto and Giovanni de Rocha at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century. Coureas discusses the terms and conditions which the contracting parties agreed to observe in individual cases. In a wider context these contracts shed light on Lusignan Famagusta's labour market, the port's demand for skilled labour, and the prevalent tendencies in the decisions of the Venetian and Genoese population regarding the education of their youth.

Michel Balard's study based on the record of the account books of mercenaries serving in Famagusta during the city's Genoese occupation between 1374 and 1464 investigates the onomastic, ethnic and professional background of the recruits, as well as the reasons behind the fluctuations in the number of mercenaries. Balard captures the human element in his statistics as he turns the faceless mass of recruits into individuals with a homeland, a name, and a profession. At the same time, he disputes Yves Garland's concept of mercenaries as lacking attachment to any political entity and being merely professional fighters driven by their desire for gain. Balard's research demonstrates that many of the mercenaries serving in Genoese Famagusta originated specifically from Liguria, and were craftsmen undertaking only short periods of service in the defence of the city.

Moving away from 'ground level' Famagusta, two articles analyze larger structures, namely the administrative, political and symbolic power Famagusta acquired in the Lusignan period which led to its becoming the island's second capital (Trelat), and Famagusta's integration into Venetian maritime trade in the late fifteenth to the late sixteenth century (Arbel).

Philippe Trelat discusses the parallel existence of two capitals in Lusignan Cyprus, whereby Nicosia served as the *de jure* capital of the island, the seat of the Lusignan monarchy and the centre of the island's manufacturing industry; while Famagusta functioned as a quasi capital, being the symbolic centre of the now defunct Kingdom of Jerusalem. It was the city housing the court of justice for the Syrians, the court for nautical issues and the loggias of foreign consuls operating independently of their peers in Nicosia. This administrative and economic bi-polarity of the kingdom lasted as long

as Famagusta's trade and wealth so allowed it; but after the era of Genoese rule in Famagusta the city never regained its earlier status as Cyprus's second capital, despite the favour King James II and his wife Catherine Cornaro bestowed on the city by residing there for some years during their reign.

Picking the story up from there, the Venetian period initiated by the reign of Catherine Cornaro is the background to Benjamin Arbel's study of Famagusta's role in Venice's Levantine trade. In his article Arbel argues that even though after ninety years of debilitating Genoese rule Famagusta never reverted to its previous status as one of the eastern Mediterranean's busiest trading ports, the island's integration into Venice's trading infrastructure between 1474 and 1571 put the city back on the map as the last port of call on the way for voyagers to Beirut and Tripoli. Although on account of the Venetian state's encouragement large trading vessels now preferred Salines (Larnaca) to Famagusta, smaller vessels conducting regional trade continued to moor in the city's port on a regular basis. This provided Famagusta's economy with sufficient income to gradually recuperate.

The five studies in this volume addressing Famagusta's endangered architectural and art historical heritage discuss the fourteenth-century mural paintings of two of the city's churches, the 'Nestorian' (Bacci) and the Carmelite (Paschali); the cultural hybridity detectable in handcrafted metal ware made for King Hugh IV of Cyprus (Ritzerfeld); the ideologically charged *spolia* which once featured prominently in Venetian Famagusta's cityscape (Langdale); and the transformation of the Saint Georgios complex over the course of seven centuries (Kaffenberger).

In his article Michele Bacci eschews normative approaches to fourteenth-century Levantine art in order to study the juxtaposition of stylistically varied mural paintings in Famagusta's St George Exorinos (the 'Nestorian' Church) in their own right. From an analysis of the simultaneous application of Arab Christian, Byzantine, and Italian Gothic visual traditions in this Church and analogous cases elsewhere, Bacci concludes that these murals showcase an artistic hybridity displaying the traits of the Syriac-rite diaspora's identity rooted in the Lebanon and their social coordinates in Famagusta's multi-ethnic and multi-layered society.

Maria Paschali's chapter focuses on the by now almost irrecoverably lost mural paintings of Famagusta's church of the Carmelite order (St Mary of the Carmelites). In this study of the church's interior Paschali directs our attention to the programmatic orchestration of an underlying crusader narrative which unites these images. Paschali's investigations imply strongly that the image of St Helena and the decorative elements figuring coats of arms and painted draperies represent an upsurge in crusader fervour in Cyprus in the first half of the fourteenth century during the reign of Hugh IV and Peter I of Lusignan, the first kings of Cyprus crowned as titular kings of Jerusalem.

Ulrike Ritzerfeld's chapter investigates a group of fourteenth-century metal basins handcrafted for King Hugh IV of Cyprus, probably on commission of the king.

These luxury items, though distinguishably Mamluk, do not conform to the Mamluk decorative conventions of the time; their Arabic inscriptions disregard the basics of grammatical and semantic accuracy, and their Latin and French inscriptions are nothing less than unusual. The peculiarity and apparent cultural hybridity of these artefacts, Ritzerfeld suggests, can be best explained by their being the work of skilled metalworkers trained in Mamluk Egypt or Syria, but residing and working in Lusignan Cyprus, probably in Famagusta.

In his contribution Allan Langdale invites us to reconsider our notions of the 'Myth of Venice' by offering an insight into the darker side of the Venetian ideology of power as manifested in practice. In this cultural historical analysis of classical *spolia* from nearby Salamis in Venetian Famagusta he suggests that the antique columns and sarcophagus in the very centre of Famagusta were meant to convey a message of retrospective legitimation of Venice's dominion over Cyprus. However, Langdale also argues that at the same time they constituted a replica of similar installations in the metropolis, communicating to the local Greeks the enforcement of Venetian authority by invoking the threat of penal retaliation.

Thomas Kaffenberger explores the architectural changes that have taken place over the seven-century-long history of Famagusta's oldest surviving church complex of Saint Georgios and Saint Epiphanios. By studying the existing physical, visual, and written materials simultaneously and in their own right, Kaffenberger manages to reconstruct the appearances of the cathedral of Saint Georgios and the church of Saint Epiphanios in eleven stages from their foundation to the early twentieth century. The importance of this study lies not only in what it contributes to our understanding of Famagusta's sacral topography through the ages, but also in what Kaffenberger sets out to do from the start, namely, "harmonizing the sources" for the first time. In light of the threats facing Famagusta's medieval and early modern heritage, this is something urgently required on a larger scale.

The editors and contributors hope this book will be a valuable response to this pressing need, and that it will underpin the urgency of saving the town's valuable heritage.

III

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MEDIEVAL FAMAGUSTA

Nicholas S.H. Coureas

The historiography of Lusignan and Venetian Famagusta has been enriched recently by the publication of two conference proceedings on this subject, the present volume and a previous one on Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta published by Ashgate.[1] Given, however, the existence of numerous but sporadic publications concerning medieval Famagusta in the form of source materials and articles, a brief account of these publications will be given here to assist those wishing to better understand the present state of research on the subject. Considerations of space preclude the inclusion of primary sources, chronicles and secondary works dealing with the history of Lusignan and Venetian Cyprus in general which also discuss Famagusta.

As regards primary sources, the first collection of documentary materials specifically devoted to Lusignan Famagusta was Cornelio Desimoni's publication at the close of the nineteenth century of notarial deeds compiled by the Genoese notary Lamberto di Sambuceto, who was resident in the city from 1296 to 1307. One hundred years later his work was continued by a team of scholars working in the Genoese archives under the direction of the late Professor George Pistarino, while in 2012 the documents originally published by Desimoni with numerous errors were re-edited and published anew at the Cyprus Research Centre in Nicosia by Michel Balard, William Duba and Christopher Schabel.[2]

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1 *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta: Studies in Architecture, Art and History*, ed. M. J. K. Walsh, P. W. Edbury and N. S. H. Coureas (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2012).

2 "Actes passès à Famagouste de 1299 à 1301 par devant le notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto", ed. C. Desimoni, *Archives de l'Orient latin*, II (Paris, 1884), *Revue de l'Orient latin*, I (Paris, 1893); *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (3 Iuglio 1300-3 Agosto 1301)*, ed. V. Polonio, Collana storica fonti e studi (henceforth CSFS) 31 (Genoa, 1982); *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (6 Iuglio-27 Ottobre 1301)*, ed. R. Pavoni, CSFS 32 (Genoa, 1982); *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (11 Ottobre 1296-23 Giugno 1299)*, ed. M. Balard, CSFS 39 (Genoa, 1983); *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (31 Marzo 1304-19 Iuglio 1305, 4 Gennaio-12 Iuglio 1307): Giovanni de Rocha (3 Agosto 1308-14 Marzo 1310)*, ed. M. Balard, CSFS 43 (Genoa, 1984); *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto Gennaio-Agosto 1302)*, ed. R.

Collections of Genoese documents on Famagusta from the period of the Genoese occupation of the city between 1374 and 1464 and extending up to 1475 were published in 1946 by Nicolae Banescu, in 1984 by Silvana Fossata Raiteri, in 2000 by Catherine Otten-Froux and in 2005 by Svetlana Bliznyuk. Collections of documents by Venetian notaries working in Famagusta in the mid to late fourteenth century have also been published, in 1973 by Antonio Lombardo and in 2003 by Catherine Otten-Froux.[3] Secondary works containing notarial or ecclesiastical documents on Lusignan Famagusta, either before or during the Genoese occupation, were published by Svetlana Bliznyuk in 1990, Laura Balletto in 1992, Catherine Otten-Froux in 1994 and Antonio Musarra in 2012.[4] Looking to the future, we note that there still remains unpublished documentation on medieval Famagusta, in particular the fourteenth century deeds of the Genoese notaries Lazarino de Erzeniis and Giovanni Bardi and the fifteenth century deeds of the Genoese notary Antonio Foglietta, which are around 220 in number and which Catherine Otten-Froux is in the process of editing.[5]

Among secondary works, various articles on institutional, commercial, civic, judicial and architectural aspects of the history of medieval and renaissance Famagusta have been written over the last few decades. Jean Richard wrote two articles, published originally in 1972 and 1987, on the Court of the Syrians in medieval Famagusta and its institutional transformation into a microcosm of the lost Latin kingdom of Jerusalem within Lusignan Cyprus, as well as a discussion of ship construction in early fourteenth century Famagusta

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Pavoni, CSFS 49 (Genoa, 1987); *Actes de Famagouste du notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto (décembre 1299 – septembre 1300)*, ed. M. Balard, W. Duba and C. Schabel (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2012).

3 N. Banescu, *Le déclin de Famagouste. Fin du royaume de Chypre, Notes et Documents* (Bucharest, 1946); *Genova e Cipro, L'inchiesta su Pietro di Marco capitano di Genova in Famagosta (1448–1449)*, ed. S. Fossati-Raiteri, CSFS 41 (Genoa, 1984); *Une enquête à Chypre au XVe siècle: Le sindicamentum de Napoleone Lomellini capitaine génois de Famagouste (1459)*, ed. C. Otten-Froux (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2000); *Die Genuesen auf Zypern ende 14 und im 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. S. Bliznyuk in Studien und texte zur Byzantinistik Band 6, Gen. editor P. Schreiner (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang GmbH, 2005). For Venetian documents on Famagusta see *Nicola de Boateriis notaio in Famagosta e Venezia (1355–1365)*, ed. A. Lombardo (Venice, 1973); C. Otten-Froux, "Un notaire vénitien à Famagouste au XIVe siècle: Les actes de Simeone, prêtre de San Giacomo dell'Orio (1362–1371)", *Thesaurismata* 33 (2003), 15–159.

4 S. Bliznyuk, "An Unknown Venetian Document of 1346 concerning Cypriot-Venetian relations", *Srednije Veka* 53 (1990), 191–204 (commentary in Russian); L. Balletto, *Piemontesi del Quattrocento nel Vicino Oriente* (Alessandria: Società di storia arte e archeologia Accademia degli Immobili, 1992), no. 26, 104–128; C. Otten-Froux, "I Maonesi e la Maona Vecchia di Cipro", *La Storia dei Genovesi*, XII, pt. 1 (Genoa, 1994), 107-118; A. Musarra, "Unpublished Notarial Acts on Tedisio Doria's Voyage to Cyprus and Lesser Armenia, 1294–1295", *Crusades* 11 (2012): 188–189 and 192–199.

5 L. Balletto, "Note sull'isola di Cipro nel XIV secolo", in *Praktika tou Tritou Diethnous Kypriologikou Synedriou*, 3 vols. (Nicosia: Society of Cypriot Studies, 1999-2001), II, 661–662 and notes 7–8; C. Otten-Froux, "Riches et pauvres en ville: Le cas de Famagouste", in *Ricchi e Poveri nella società dell'oriente Greco-Latino*, ed. C. Maltezou (Venice: Biblioteca del'Istituto Ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia, 1998), 334 and note 9; idem, "Notes sur quelques monuments du Famagouste à la fin du Moyen Age", in *Mosaic: Festscrift for A.H.S. Megaw*, ed. J. Herrin, M. Mullett and C. Otten-Froux, British School at Athens Studies 8 (Nottingham, 2001), 153 and note 11.

with accompanying documentary material, published already in 1962. In 1987 Sarah Arenson, using the same documentation, published an article on ship construction in Cyprus with particular emphasis on the costs involved.[6] David Jacoby wrote a seminal article (originally published in 1984) on the rise of Famagusta as a commercial centre in consequence of the Muslim re-conquest of Latin Syria. His article on the role of Greek merchants in the maritime trade of Cyprus, published in 2002, likewise deals mainly with the role of Famagusta and Greek traders in the trading and shipping networks of the eastern Mediterranean. Michel Balard in 1985 published an article on Famagusta at the dawn of the fourteenth century that was followed by several articles by him on the Genoese presence in Famagusta both before and during the Genoese occupation of the city.[7]

A detailed account from 1343 of the spices imported from the East to Catalonia via Famagusta and of exports from Barcelona to Cyprus such as silver, kohl and agricultural produce, just as Famagusta was beginning its commercial decline, and the profits made by the merchants participating in such trading ventures was published in 1992 by Josep Plana I Borràs with supporting documentary materials such as the accounts of the merchant heading this trading venture.[8] Peter Edbury has published three articles on the social fabric of Famagusta and its relations with the Genoese in around 1300 including one on the dispute over the diocesan boundaries of the town's Latin bishopric in the early thirteenth century, while Laura Balletto's article on ethnic groups and cross-acculturation in fifteenth century Cyprus discusses Genoese Famagusta following the transfer of the administration of the city from the Republic of Genoa to the Office of San Georgio, notwithstanding the article's title.[9] Catherine Otten-Froux has published

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6 Jean Richard, "Les comptes de l'évêque Géraud de Paphos et les constructions navales en Chypre", in *Chypre sous les Lusignans, documents chypriotes des archives du Vatican (XIVe et XVe siècles)* (Paris: Libraire Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1962), 33–49; idem, "La situation juridique de Famagouste dans le royaume des Lusignans", in idem, *Orient et Occident au Moyen Age: Contacts et Relations (XIIe–XVes.)* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 1976), XVII; idem, "La cour des Syriens de Famagouste d'après une texte de 1448", in idem, *Croisades et Etats latins d'Orient* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing 1992), XVII; S. Arenson, "Ship Construction in Cyprus, 1325–6", in *Tropos II, 2nd International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity*, ed. H. Tzalas (Delphi, 1987), 13–23.

7 D. Jacoby, "The Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the Late Thirteenth Century", now in idem, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (Northampton: Ashgate Publishing, 1989), VIII; idem, "Greeks in the Maritime Trade of Cyprus around the mid-Fourteenth Century", in *Cipro-Venezia Comuni Sorti Storiche*, ed. C. Maltezou (Venice: Biblioteca dell'Istituto Ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia, 2002), 59–83; M. Balard, "Les Génois dans le royaume medieval de Chypre"; idem, "Les Génois à Famagouste (XIIIe-XVe siècles); idem, Famagouste au début du XIV siècle"; idem, "La place de Famagouste génoise dans le royaume de Lusignan (1374–1464); idem, "Note sull'amministrazione Genovese di Cipro nel Quattrocento", all now in idem, *Les marchands italiens à Chypre* (Nicosia: Centre de Recherche Scientifique, 2007), nos. I, II, IV, V and VII. See also M. Balard, "La *Massaria* génoise de Famagouste", in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000–1500*, ed. A. D. Beihammer, M. G. Parani and C. D. Schabel (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 235–249.

8 J. Plana i Borràs, "The Accounts of Joan Benet's Trading Venture from Barcelona to Famagusta: 1343", *Epeteris Kentrou Epistemonikon Ereunon*, XIX (1992), 105–168.

9 P. Edbury, "Famagusta in 1300"; idem, "Famagusta Society ca. 1300 from the Registers of Lamberto di Sambuceto"; idem, The Genoese Community in Famagusta around the Year 1300: a Historical Vignette"; idem,

several articles on judicial, monetary, social and institutional aspects of Famagusta in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[10] The role of both Famagusta and Nicosia in the trade between Cyprus and the Mamluk sultanate in the fifteenth century has been discussed by the present author in an article published in 2007. Turning to the Venetian period, we note that Benjamin Arbel has discussed the urban assemblies and town councils operating in Famagusta and Nicosia in an article originally published in 1986, while in an article first published in 2001 he has also discussed the supply of water to the city. His article on slavery in Frankish and Venetian Cyprus, initially published in 1993, is largely focused on the sale of slaves in Famagusta, for as he admits documentation on slaves sold in Nicosia is exiguous. Meanwhile, Fabrizio Frigerio has discussed, in an article published in 1986, a plan of the harbour and fortifications of Famagusta outlined in an unpublished Venetian manuscript.[11]

As expected, the Gothic and Venetian architecture of Famagusta has attracted the interest of art historians and a number of relevant articles have been published in learned periodicals. Theophilus Mogabgab, an architect and officer of the Department of Antiquities in Famagusta, supervised a comprehensive programme of restoration and

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"Latin Dioceses and Peristerona: a Contribution to the Topography of Lusignan Cyprus", all now in idem, *Kingdoms of the Crusaders: From Jerusalem to Cyprus* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 1999), nos. XVI–XVIII and XXI; L. Balletto, "Ethnic Groups, Cross-Social and Cross-Cultural Contacts on Fifteenth-Century Cyprus", in *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. B. Arbel (London: Frank Cass, 1996), 35–48.

10 C. Otten, "I maonesi e la maona vecchia di Cipro", *La Storia dei Genovesi*, XII, pt. 1 (Genoa, 1994), 107–118; idem, "La ville enclave, un cas particulier de ville frontière: L'exemple de Famagouste aux XIVe-XVe siècles", in *Les villes frontière (Moyen Âge-Époque Moderne)*, ed. D. Menjot (Paris: L'Harmattan Edition, 1996), 197-208; idem, "Riches et pauvres en ville, le cas de Famagouste (XIIIe-XVe siècles)", in *Ricchi e Poveri nella società dell' Oriente Grecolatino*, ed. C. Maltezou (Venice: Biblioteca dell'Istituto Ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia, 1998), 331–349; idem, (with M. Metcalf), "Evidence concerning the Activity of a Mint in Famagusta in 1456–1457", *Epeterida Kentrou Epistemonikon Ereunon*, XXV (1999), 19–50; idem, "Quelques aspects de la Justice à Famagouste pendant la période génoise", in *Praktika tou Tritou Diethnous Kypriologikou Synedriou*, 3 vols. (Nicosia: The Society of Cypriot Studies, 1999-2001), II, 333–351; idem, "Notes sur quelques monuments du Famagouste à la fin du Moyen Age", in *Mosaic: Festscrift for A.H.S. Megaw*, ed. J. Herrin, M. Mullett and C. Otten-Froux, British School at Athens Studies 8 (Nottingham, 2001), 145–154; idem, "La register de la *curia* du capitaine génois de Famagouste au milieu du XVe siècle: une source pour l'étude d'une societé multiculturelle", in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000–1500*, ed. A. D. Beihammer, M. G. Parani and C. D. Schabel (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 251–274.

11 N. Coureas, "Trade between Cyprus and the Mamluk Lands in the Fifteenth Century with special reference to Nicosia and Famagusta", in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras V*, Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta 169, ed. U. Vermeulen and K. D'Hulster (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 419–438; B. Arbel, "Urban Assemblies and Town Councils in Frankish and Venetian Cyprus"; ibid., "Slave trade and Slave Labor in Frankish and Venetian Cyprus (1191–1571)", both now in idem., *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th–16th Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2000), nos. IV and IX. See also B. Arbel, "Supplying Water to Famagusta: New Evidence from the Venetian Period", in *Praktika tou Tritou Diethnous Kyprologikou Synedriou*, 3 vols. (Nicosia: The Society of Cypriot Studies, 1999–2001), II, 651–651; F. Frigerio, "Un plan manuscript inédit du XVIe siècle du port du Famagouste", in *Praktika tou Defterou Diethnous Kypriologikou Synedriou*, 3 vols. (Nicosia: Society of Cypriot Studies, 1985–1987), II, 297–302.

rehabilitation of the medieval and renaissance edifices in the town between 1935 and 1956. Nicola Coldstream in 1975 published a short article on the church of St George of the Latins in Famagusta and recently this church has been the subject of a paper by Alpay Özdural on medieval metrology and design techniques. The Latin cathedral of St Nicholas has been the subject of two articles and a Master's dissertation discussing, respectively, the 'rayonnant' style of the Gothic tracery in its windows, the chronology of its construction and its association with the lost Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Jean-Bernard de Vaivre has indicated the problems in identifying and dating the so-called Twin Churches in Famagusta. In a follow-up article of 2003 he argued that these churches in Famagusta, traditionally attributed to the Military Orders of the Temple and the Hospital and datable to the fourteenth century, still await a firm attribution, while hinting that the southernmost of the two churches was possibly dedicated to St Sebastian, a saint often invoked against the plague which periodically ravaged Cyprus during the fourteenth century.[12]

In 2009 Michele Bacci published an article discussing the murals present in the small Armenian Church in Famagusta dateable to the early fourteenth century. He maintained that that the images therein were made according to contemporary Byzantine rather than Armenian patterns. He also stated that the image of the holy rider on the side of the entrance is found not only in Armenia but throughout the eastern Mediterranean. Armenians probably disseminated it as far as Perugia in Italy, where this motif is found in the church of St Matteo degli Armeni belonging to Armenian Uniate monks. The same author has also discussed the murals in the so-called Nestorian church of Famagusta, traditionally known as 'St George the Exiler' (Hagios Georgios Xorinos).[13]

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12 Mogabgab, T., "Excavations in Famagusta", *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (henceforth *RDAC*) (Nicosia, 1936) 20–22; idem, "An Unidentified Church in Famagusta", *RDAC* 1936, (Nicosia, 1939), 89–96; idem, "Excavations and Improvements in Famagusta", *RDAC* 1936 (Nicosia, 1939), 97–102; idem, "Excavations and Researches in Famagusta 1937–1939", *RDAC* 1936 (Nicosia, 1939), 103–105; idem, "Excavations and Researches in Famagusta 1937–1939", *RDAC* 1937-1939 (Nicosia, 1951), 181–190; N. Coldstream, "The Church of St George the Latin, Famagusta", *EETAK* 1975, 147–151; A. Özdural, "The Church of St. George of the Latins in Famagusta: A Case Study on Medieval Metrology and Design Techniques", *Ad Quadratum: the practical application of geometry in medieval architecture*, ed. N.Y. Wu, AVISTA Studies in the History of Medieval Technology, Science and Art, Vol. 1, Ch. 10 (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2002), 217–242; L. Bonato and M. Emery, "L'Architecture Rayonnante a Chypre: La cathédrale Saint-Nicolas de Famagouste", *Cahier du Centre d'Études Chypriotes* 29, 1999 (Paris, 2000): 97–116; A. Franke, *St. Nicholas in Famagusta: dating, chronology and sources of architectural language*, unpublished MA thesis (Munich: University of Munich [LMU], 2006); B. Imhaus, "Une Memoria du Royaume de Jérusalem à Famagouste?: La chapelle sud ouest de la cathédrale Saint-Nicolas", *RDAC* 2007 (Nicosia, 2007), 435–448; J-B de Vaivre, "Identifications hasardeuses et datation de monuments à Famagouste: le cas des "églises jumelles des templiers et des hospitaliers (note de'information)", *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'année...-Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, Vol. 146, 1 (2002), 45–55; idem, "Les Églises jumelles de Famagouste", *Monuments Piot*, vol. 82 (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2003), 139–171.

13 M. Bacci, "The Armenian Church in Famagusta and its Mural Decoration: Some Iconographic Remarks", *Hask Hayakidagan* 11 (2007–2008) (Antelias, 2009), 489-508; idem, "Syrian, Palaiologan, and Gothic Murals in the 'Nestorian' Church of Famagusta", *Deltion tes Christianikes Arkhaiologikes Hetaireias*, vol. 27, pt. 4 (Athens, 2006), 207–220.

Also in 2009 there appeared an article by Michalis Olympios on the Carmelite Church in Famagusta, first mentioned and described by George Jeffery in 1916. Olympios maintains that it has formal affinities with the Latin cathedral in the town of Rhodes, citing as particular points of similarity their clerestories, in both cases oblong rib-vaulted spaces ending in five-sided apses looking eastwards and tall narrow lancet windows without tracery. In other architectural features, namely prismatic ribs and traverse arches, the Rhodes cathedral resembles the church of the hospital of St Anthony in Famagusta. Earlier studies on the Franciscan church in Famagusta include those by Camille Enlart on the archaeological excavations conducted on its site at the dawn of the twentieth century, published in 1905, and an article on the Franciscan church itself published in 1911-1912 by George Jeffery, who has also left papers on the cathedral of St George of the Greeks in Famagusta and on medieval Famagusta in general. More recently Michalis Olympios published an article in 2011 on the Franciscan convent in Famagusta, in which he argues that this convent was constructed in the final decade of the thirteenth century by architects and masons originating from Nicosia at a time when both the archbishop of Nicosia John of Ancona and Bishop Matthew of Famagusta were members of the Franciscan Order.[14]

As for the Venetian architecture in Famagusta, this has been discussed recently by Allan Langdale in an article published in 2010, in which he argues that Venetian architecture in the city formed a component of Venetian colonial expansionism, bearing the stamp of Venetian domination and historical predestination. In discussing the Venetian walls, moreover, he argues that other than their military functions they too were iconic symbols of Venetian glory and power that visually encouraged Venetian merchants to venture for purposes of trade or settlement to the far-flung outposts of Venice's colonial empire.[15] Although my bibliographic survey of Lusignan and Venetian Famagusta ends at this point, I believe that the scholarly interest shown in this subject is still in its early stages, with the promise of much more to come.

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[14] C. Enlart, "Fouilles dans les eglises de Famagouste de Chypre", *Archaeological Journal* 62 (1905): 195–217; G. Jeffery, "The Orthodox Cathedral of Famagusta, Cyprus", *The Builder* 37, no. 3205 (July 9, 1904): 31–34; idem, "Fortress of Famagusta", *Journal of The Royal Institute of British Architects* 15 (1908): 625–648; idem, "On the Franciscan Church at Famagusta, Cyprus", *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd series XXIV (1911–1912), 302–318; idem, "The Carmelite Church at Famagusta", *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, Vol. 28, 2nd series, London, March 9, 1916, 106–111; M. Olympios, "Networks of Contact in the Architecture of the Latin East: The Carmelite Church of Famagusta, Cyprus and the Cathedral of Rhodes", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 162 (2009): 29–65; idem, "The Franciscan Convent of Famagusta and its Place within the Context of early Fourteenth century Cypriot Gothic Architecture", *Kypriakai Spoudai*, 73 (2009): 103–122;

[15] A. Langdale, "At the Edge of Empire: Venetian Architecture in Famagusta, Cyprus", *Viator* 41, no. 1 (2010): 155-198.

Section One: History

NICOSIA AND FAMAGUSTA IN THE FRANKISH PERIOD (1192–1474): TWO CAPITALS FOR A KINGDOM?

Philippe Trélat

Reading early modern travellers' accounts or comprehensive historical syntheses, one never ceases to be astonished by the confusion concerning Famagusta and Nicosia, the two principal cities of the kingdom of Cyprus in the Lusignan era (1192–1474). Two examples taken from each of these large categories of sources testify to the disorientation of the authors: on the way to Jerusalem, the friar Francisco Guerrero went out to the island in 1588 and related that "Llegamos a vista de Famagosta que es la cabeça de aquel regno"[1]; Jean de la Barre, who continued the *Discours sur l'histoire Universelle* of Bossuet, remarked in the year 1570 that 'le Turc prit Nicosie et l'année suivante Famaguste, capitale de cette île'.[2] The false attribution of the rank of capital city to the main port of the island reveals the lack of knowledge or at least hesitation in the early modern literature concerning the hierarchy of the two Cypriot cities under Latin rule.

Even if we do not find such confusion in medieval historiography or travellers' accounts, the special functions of these cities are not at all brought out. The travellers' accounts rarely identify Nicosia as the capital of the kingdom, though they generally

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1 F. Guerrero, *El viage de Hierusalem* (Valence: J. Navarro, 1593), 150; quite often, early modern travellers mention the Lala Mustapha Pasha mosque of Famagusta, previously Saint Nicolas' Cathedral, under the false dedication to Saint Sophia. This frequent confusion testifies perhaps to the Greek practice of attributing to the main church of a town the dedication most wide-spread in the Byzantine world: C. de Bruijn, *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruijn door de Vernaardste delen van Klein Asia*... (Deft: H. van Krooneveld, 1698) is the original edition in Dutch, but I have cited the first French edition: C. Le Brun, *Voyage au Levant... traduit du flamand* (Deft: H. van Krooneveld, 1700), 374; another example: J. de La Porte, *Le voyageur françois, ou la connaissance de l'ancien et du nouveau monde* (Paris: Moutard, 1765–1795), Vol. 1, 20.

2 J. de La Barre (J.-B. Bossuet), *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle* (London: David Mortier, 1707), 150. This sort of inaccuracy is common in later historians, too: A.-F. Villemain, *Lascaris ou les Grecs du XV^e^ siècle* (Paris: Ladvocat, 1825), 218; É. Salvador, *L'Orient, Marseille et la Méditerranée, histoire des échelles du Levant et des colonies* (Paris: Amyot, 1854), 78.

agree about the maritime role played by Famagusta.[3] The pilgrims and merchants arriving in the island did not always discuss both cities, and they described them according to their own intentions. However, there were some travellers who discussed both cities, comparing favourably the climate of Nicosia against the vitiated and foul air of Famagusta for example.[4] Although it was not always done consciously, foreigners at times set the two main Cypriot cities in contrast by attributing special characteristics to each of them.

On the basis of a sample of some fifty descriptions concerning journeys to Cyprus between 1192 and 1474, a comparison can be made showing how visitors saw the two settlements. For the travellers stopping on the way to the Holy Land, Nicosia was first of all a royal city where the majority of the Latin nobility also resided.[5] Certainly, the possibility of visiting the king of Cyprus and receiving the Order of the Sword in the royal palace of Nicosia were strong motivations for noble pilgrims from the second half of the fourteenth century onwards to stay in the capital for a while.[6] Propagandists of the Crusade also visited the Cypriot capital in order to sound out the intentions of the Lusignan dynasty concerning projects aiming at the recapture of the Holy Land.[7]

The great number of extant pilgrimage accounts by monks and clerics help us to understand the religious importance of the city. From this period, there are six texts which speak of Nicosia's status as the Latin archbishopric.[8] Other descriptions give a

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3 The descriptions mentioning Nicosia as capital or royal city are: Zosima (1421), in *Excerpta Cypria Nova, vol. I : Voyageurs Occidentaux à Chypre au XV^e siècle*, ed. G. Grivaud, Sources et études de l'histoire de Chypre, XV (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1990), 51; Steffan von Gumpenberg (1450), in *ibid.*, 65; Anselme and Jean Adorno (1470), in *ibid.*, 82; Sébastien Mamerot (c. 1472), in ibid., 90; Alessandro Rinuccini (1474), in ibid., 91.

4 P. Tafur, *Andanças e viajes de un hidalgo español, predantacion, edicion, ilustraciones, notas, vocabulario geographico y glosario de Marco Jimenez de la Espada* (Madrid: Imprenta de Miguel Ginesta, 1874; repr. Madrid: Miraguano, 1995), 66–67.

5 The number of texts mentioning Nicosia's status as royal residence is too great to be listed.

6 Coppart de Velaines (1423): see J. Paviot, "Le pèlerinage du tournaisien Coppart de Velaines en Terre Sainte (1423–1424 et 1431–1432)", in *Campin in Context. Peinture et société dans la vallée de l'Escaut à l'époque de Robert Campin 1375–1445*, ed. X. Fontaine et J. Debergh (Valenciennes, Bruxelles and Tournai: Presses universitaires de Valenciennes, 2007), 292. On receiving the Order of the Sword in the royal palace of Nicosia, see N. Christofidou, "To tagma tou xifous", in *Cyprus and the Crusades: Papers Given at the International Conference Cyprus and the Crusades, Nicosia, 6-9 September, 1994,* ed. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1995), 143–158; E. Skoufari, "L'Ordine della spada: istituzioni e cerimonie cavalleresche nel Regno di Cipro (secoli XIV–XV)", *Archivio Veneto* 169 (2007): 5–25.

7 Otto von Neuhaus *alias* Guillaume Boldensele (1333): F. Khull, *Zweier deutscher Ordensleute Pilgerfahrt nach Jerusalem* (Graz: Styria, 1895), 11.

8 E.g. Wilbrand von Oldenburg (1211): *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor, Burchardus de Monte Sion, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, Odoricus de Foro Julii, Wilbrandus de Oldenborg*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1873), 181; Nicolas de Martoni (1395): *Io Notaio Nicola de Martoni: Il pellegrinaggio ai Luoghi Santi da Carinola a Gerusalemme, 1394–1395*, ed. M. Piccirillo, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Collectio Maior, 42 (Jérusalem: Custodia di Terra Santa, 2003), 114–115; Gilles le Bouvier (1443): *Le Livre de la description des pays de Gilles Le Bouvier, dit Berry, premier roi d'armes de Charles VII, Roi de France*, ed. E.-T. Hamy (Paris: E. Leroux, 1908), 70.

more detailed inventory of the Latin churches and monasteries.[9] Certain authors even enumerated the relics preserved in the churches of the city.[10] However, the economic and social situation of Nicosia did not greatly interest such visitors of the island. Thus, sources emphasizing the wealth and the diversity of handicrafts and the commercial activity of the city are far less numerous.[11]

Famagusta appears more rarely in the itinerary of the pilgrims and travellers who, before arriving to Nicosia—if they planned a longer stay—disembarked by preference in Limassol or Les Salines. However, if the ships did stop in Famagusta, this provided the travellers with the opportunity to describe the much-admired harbour and its fortifications built under King Henry II.[12] They commonly mentioned the wealth of the merchants and the importance of trade in the life of the settlement.[13] Since they tended to connect this economic success to the presence of communities of Eastern Christians, the pilgrims sometimes listed the confessions they met in the town—these were also mentioned in the case of Nicosia, but only very rarely.[14] The royal palace or other buildings indicating the power of the Lusignans are, however, infrequently mentioned in the texts.[15] Finally, accounts of the religious topography of the town contented themselves with noting the name of the cathedral of Saint Nicolas, while the large number of monasteries was completely overlooked.[16]

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9 Nicolas de Martoni (1395): *Io Notaio Nicola de Martoni*, 114–115; Steffan von Gumpemberg (1450): *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 65; William Wey (1458): C. D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus* (Cambridge Mass, 1908; reprint New York: Krauss Reprint Co, 1969), 35; Sébastien Mamerot (c. 1472): *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 90.

10 Nompar de Caumont (1419): *Voyage d'oultremer en Jhérusalem par le seigneur de Caumont (1418)*, ed. É. L. de La Grange (Paris: Auguste Aubry, 1858), 77–78; Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 35; Ulrich Leman (1473): *Ulrich Lemans Reisen: Erfahrungen eines Kaufmanns aus St. Gallen vom Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts im Mittelmeer und in der Provence*, ed. M. Reininger (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2007), 101–102.

11 Nicolò III d'Este (1412): Luchino Dal Campo, *Viaggio del Marchese Nicolò III d'Este al Santo Sepolcro (1413)*, ed. C. Brandoli, Biblioteca della Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa. Testi e documenti, 24 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2011), 212, 231–232; Steffan von Gumpemberg (1450): *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 65.

12 Wilbrand von Oldenburg (1211)**:** *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, 181; Nicolas de Martoni (1395): *Io Notaio Nicola de Martoni*, 104–105; Nompar de Caumont (1419): *Voyage d'oultremer en Jhérusalem*, 77.

13 Ludolph de Sudheim (1336–1341): *De Itinere Terrae Sanctae*, ed. F. Deycks (Stuttgart: Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins, 1851), 32; Nicolas de Martoni (1395): *Io Notaio Nicola de Martoni*, 104–105; Emmanuel Piloti (1441): *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 59; Ulrich Leman (1473): *Ulrich Lemans Reisen*, 106.

14 Jacques de Vérone (1335): *Liber peregrinationis Fratris Jacobi de Verona*, ed. R. Röhricht, *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 3 (1895): 176–179; Jacques de Berne (1346-1347), in *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande*, ed. R. Röhricht et H. Meisner (Berlin, 1880), 52; Emmanuel Piloti (1441): *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 59; Ulrich Leman (1473): *Ulrich Lemans Reisen*, 106.

15 Nicolas de Martoni (1395): *Io Notaio Nicola de Martoni*, 114–115; Steffan von Gumpenberg (1450): *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 63.

16 Nicolas de Martoni (1395): *Io Notaio Nicola de Martoni*, 106–109; Nompar de Caumont (1419): La Grange, *Voyage d'oultremer en Jhérusalem*, 77. Only Nicolas Martoni and Steffan von Gumpenberg mention the monasteries: Nicolas de Martoni (1395): *Io Notaio Nicola de Martoni*, 106–109; Steffan von Gumpenberg (1450): *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, 63.

The diversity of these views reflect the clear difference, noticed by the medieval travellers, between Nicosia as a political and ecclesiastical centre, the seat of the royal power of the Lusignan dynasty and of the Latin archbishopric, and Famagusta as the economic capital and meeting point of the trade between East and West, as well as a refuge of the Eastern Christians coming from Syria and Palestine. It is exactly this representation of a bicephalous state with two capitals that we want to examine in the context of current reflections on the medieval concept of a capital city.[17] What were the relations between the two towns? In which cases is it possible to distinguish between cases of confrontation and competition and of complementarity and collaboration, respectively? What was the spatial logic motivating the different actors of Cypriot political and economic history?

In order to answer these questions, one has first to examine the institutional position of both towns, before analysing the phenomena of their economic and commercial complementarity and/or competition.

The Institutional Position of the Towns

In 1192, Guy Lusignan inherited a capital where the Byzantine authorities had been established for about a century, and he decided to introduce the actual institutions of the kingdom of Jerusalem. However, in order to insure the smooth running of his young kingdom, Guy and after him his brother Amalric maintained certain administrative and institutional structures taken over from the Byzantine period such as the *Secrète*, the body charged with the management of the royal domains.[18] The Latin nobility arriving from the Holy Land, but also from the West, established itself in Nicosia where they assumed the great offices of the kingdom and administered the fiefs entrusted to them by the royal power.[19] By the end of the twelfth century, the principal constitutional elements of a centralised monarchy, allowing the evolution of a capital

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17 E.g., the work assembling the acts of XXXVI[th] Congress of the Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur Public: *Les villes capitales au Moyen Âge, XXXVI[e] Congrès de la SHMESP (Istanbul, 1[e]–6 juin 2005)*, ed. Société des historiens médiévistes de l'Enseignement supérieur public (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006).

18 On Nicosia in the Byzantine era see T. Papacostas, "Byzantine Nicosia 650–1191", in *Historic Nicosia,* ed. D. Michaelides (Nicosia: Rimal 2012), 79–109. On the central institutions of the Lusignan Kingdom and the Byzantine heritage see J. Richard, "Hoi politikoi kai koinonikoi thesmoi tou mesaionikou basileiou", in *Historia tes Kyprou*, IV, *Mesaionikon Basileion, Henetokratia*, ed. Th. Papadopoullos (Nicosia: Fondation culturelle de l'archevêque Makarios III, 1995): Vol. 4, 333–74.

19 The testimonies of the travellers Ludolph of Sudheim and Wilbrand van Oldenburg concerning the exclusive residence of the Cyprian nobility in Nicosia have been counterbalanced by the analysis in a recent study: G. Grivaud, À propos du manoir dans l'Orient latin: le cas du royaume de Chypre (XIII[e]–XV[e] siècle), in *Des châteaux et des sources. Archéologie et histoire dans la Normandie médiévale*, eds. É. Lalou, B. Lepeuple et J.-L. Roch (Rouen: Publications des Universités de Rouen et du Havre, 2008), 353–74.

city, were already present in the kingdom of Cyprus. While Famagusta is mentioned in the *Itinerarium* as the harbour where Isaac Comnenus took refuge when pursued by the army of Richard Lionheart, the town itself was doubtlessly unable to compete with Nicosia at the end of the twelfth century.[20] The pilgrim Wilbrand von Oldenburg noted in the 1210s that even if Famagusta offered good moorings, it was hardly fortified.[21] Up until 1291, the harbour benefitted on account of its geographical location opposite the Syrian coast and had the function of a military arsenal. It had been the boarding point to Syria for Frederick II in 1228, as well as for King Henry I of Cyprus in 1231 during the civil war.[22]

In 1291 the fall of Acre, the last bastion of the Holy Land, gave added emphasis to the centralization process and increased the importance of the two principal towns of the island. The ranks of the Nicosia nobility increased due to the flood of overseas refugees, while Famagusta had to absorb masses of eastern Christians and Italians, mainly Genoese and Venetian merchants previously established in the harbours of the Syrian coast.[23] The Lusignans, being preoccupied with the military matters of Syria and Palestine, had often had to leave their kingdom in the thirteenth century. Acre's fall had the effect of making them concentrate on their insular interests again and this led them to rethink the hierarchy of the towns.[24] This huge geopolitical upheaval and its demographic consequences had the potential to endanger the balance of powers and the predominance of Nicosia over the kingdom of Cyprus. In the event, the disappearance of the kingdom of Jerusalem did not challenge the status of Nicosia, due to the clever policy of the Lusignans, who came up with a "legal fiction" which assimilated Famagusta to a town of the kingdom of Jerusalem.[25]

Between 1100 and 1187, the coronation ceremony and the crowning of the successors of Godfrey of Bouillon had taken place in Jerusalem at the Holy Sepulchre

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20 *Chronicles and Memorials of the reign of Richard I. Vol. 1. Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, ed. W. Stubbs (London: Longman, 1864–1865), 199; for references to Famagusta in the thirteenth-century written sources see P. W. Edbury, "Famagusta and the Tradition of History Writing in Frankish Cyprus", in *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta, Studies in Architecture, Art and History*, ed. M. J. K. Walsh, P. W. Edbury et N. S. H. Coureas (Burlington: Ashgate 2012), 47.

21 *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, 180.

22 *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi volume 1*, ed. R. de Mas Latrie (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1891), repr. in Francesco Amadi, *Cronaca di Cipro* (Nicosia: Fondation culturelle de l'archevêque Makarios III, 1999), 132, 151.

23 D. Jacoby, "The Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the late thirteenth century", *Meletai kai Hypomnemata* 1 (1984): 143–79, repr. in idem, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1989), VIII, 150–62.

24 The period following the fall of Acre was marked by intensive legislative activity, as is proven by a series of convocations of vassals and a number of orders promulgated in the reign of Henry II, see "Bans et ordonnances des rois de Chypre 1286–1362", in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades vol. 2 Lois*, *Les Assises de Jérusalem*, ed. M. le Comte de Beugnot (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1843), 357–70.

25 On the medieval concept of legal fiction see Y. Thomas, "Les artifices de la vérité en droit commun medieval", *L'homme* 175–176, no. 3/4 (juillet-août 2005), 113–30.

and in the church of Bethlehem. After the defeat at Hattin, it was decided that the royal enthronement would happen in the cathedral of Tyre, the first archiepiscopal seat of the kingdom; the patriarch of Jerusalem or, in his absence, the archbishop of Tyre, or, failing them, those of Caesarea and of Nazareth would have the honour of performing the coronation.[26] Before the fall of Acre there were several kings of Cyprus who added the crown of Jerusalem to that of their insular kingdom: Guy of Lusignan (1186–1192), Aimery of Lusignan (1198–1205), Hugh III (1269–1284), John I (1284–1285) and Henry II, crowned in Acre in 1286.[27] After the last Latin possessions in the Holy Land were lost in 1291, a Cypriot town needed to be selected where the coronation ceremony could take place. The chronicles agree over the fact that the king customarily received the crown of Cyprus in the Cathedral of St Sophia in Nicosia before he was established as king of Jerusalem in Famagusta. On this occasion the king named the great officers of the late kingdom of Jerusalem, distinct from those of the kingdom of Cyprus: a seneschal, a constable, a marshal, a butler and a chamberlain.[28]

One still has to ask the question when and why the crowning at Famagusta was decided. Based on the words of Stephen of Lusignan affirming that the enthronement in Famagusta went back to the decision of Henry II, historians have accepted the connection between the building of the cathedral of St Nicholas and the transfer of the coronation of the king of Jerusalem to the island.[29] This story seems to be plausible con-

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[26] *John of Ibelin, Le livre des Assises*, ed. P. W. Edbury, in *The Medieval Mediterranean*, Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1500, 50 (Leiden: Brill 2003), 569. On the crowning of the King of Jerusalem see G. Dodu, *Histoire des institutions monarchiques dans le royaume latin de Jérusalem (1099–1291)* (Paris: Hachette édition, 1894), 333; J. Richard, *Le royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris: Presses Universitàires de France, 1953), 61–66; H. E. Mayer, *Das Pontifikale von Tyrus und die Krönung der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 21 (1967), repr. in idem, *Probleme des lateinischen Königreichs Jerusalem* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1983), I, 141–232.

[27] W. H. Rudt de Collenberg, "Les Lusignan de Chypre. Généalogie compilée principalement selon les registres de l'Archivio Segreto Vaticano et les manuscrits de la Biblioteca Vaticana", *Epeteris Kentrou Epistemonikon Ereunon* 10 (1979–1980): 91–93, 105–106, 108.

[28] Amadi, *Cronaca di Cipro*, 403; Leontios Machairas, *Leontiou Makhaira Khroniko tes Kyprou. Parallele diplomatike ekdose ton kheirographon*, ed. M. Pieris and A. Nicolaou-Konnari (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2003); Florio Bustron, *Chronique de l'île de Chypre*, ed. R. de Mas Latrie (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1886), repr. in idem, *Historia over Commentarii di Cipro* (Nicosia: Fondation culturelle de l'archevêque Makarios III, 1998), 253.

[29] 'Après que Ptolomaïde (Acre) fut tombée en la main des Turcs, Henry second de ce nom, surnommé de Lusignan, roy de Cypre et de hierusalem, la fortifia et rendit du tout semblable à Ptolomaïde, y faisant un marché où tous les estrangers d'Orient arrivoient...' Quoted by J. Richard, "La situation juridique de Famagouste dans le royaume des Lusignans", in *Praktika tou Protou Diethnous Kyprologikou Synedriou*, 3 vols. (Nicosia: 1971-1973), II, 221–229, repr. in idem, *Orient et Occident au Moyen Age: contacts et relations XII^{e}–XIV^{e} siècles*, (London: Variorum Reprints, 1976), XVII, 222; Étienne de Lusignan, *Description de toute l'isle de Cypre* (Paris: G. Chaudiere, 1580; repr. Famagusta: Les Editions l'Oiseau, 1968 and Nicosia: The Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, 2004), fol. 24^{r}. For the links between the construction of Saint Nicolas' Cathedral and the transfer of the crowning see Ph. Plagnieux and Th. Soulard, "Famagouste, la cathédrale Saint-Nicolas", in *L'art gothique en Chypre*, ed. J-B. de Vaivre and Ph. Plagnieux (Paris: De Boccard, 2006), 219.

sidering the benevolent policy of Henry II towards Famagusta: he granted the principal harbour of the island with commercial privileges to various merchant nations in order to accelerate its development.[30] However, the meticulous study of other sources offers a version different from that of Stephen of Lusignan which challenges the framework usually adopted by the historians.

The first time the chronicles of Amadi, of Machairas and of Florio Bustron talk about a crowning of the king of Cyprus as king of Jerusalem in Famagusta is on the occasion of the succession to the throne of Hugh IV in 1324, after the death of his uncle Henry II.[31] A few days after his first coronation in Nicosia, King Hugh went to Famagusta in order to be crowned by the bishop of Beirut. Florio Bustron, the best informed chronicler in this respect, reported that the decision had been taken by members of the High Court and the prelates (Tyre, already under Muslim rule, was not accessible anymore for the Lusignans to be crowned as kings of Jerusalem).[32] One may suppose that it was the wish of the nobility originating from the kingdom of Jerusalem and joining the High Court of the kingdom of Cyprus that the crowning should take place in Famagusta where most of them lived.[33] Whatever the motivation, the decision

30 C. Otten-Froux, "La ville de Famagouste", in ibid., 114.

31 See note 28.

32 "Et pochi giorni dapoi, il detto re Ugo et detta regina Alisia andorno a Famagosta, dove si fecero coronar per il vescovo de Barutto, fra Matteo minorita, re de Gerusalem ; che cosi fu terminata per gli huomini d'alta corte e per li prelati, perochè a Sur, dove si solevano coronar li altri re de Gerusalem, non si poteva fare, attento che li Saraceni havevano occupata quella terra. Re Ugo ha ordinato tutti gli offici del regno de Cipro, come de Gerusalem". Bustron, *Historia over Commentarii di Cipro*, 253.

33 If the place of the crowning of the King of Jerusalem in Famagusta was chosen by the High Court and the prelates, the building project of the Cathedral of Saint Nicholas would not have been connected to the loss of Tyre nor to the necessity of constructing a new church for the coronation. This hypothesis has been supported by Arne Franke, based on the architectural analysis of the building. He suggested that the construction of the Famagusta cathedral, financed by the bishop and the sponsors of the town, was not finished by 1324 for the coronation of Hugh IV, which therefore must have taken place either in another church, or on the building site of the future cathedral. In disagreement with these arguments Thierry Soulard maintains that the construction of the building was part of a larger project of King Henry II, who aimed to transform the principal harbour of Cyprus into a new Acre. The author emphasizes, correctly, that the costs of the works could not have been financed by the modest resources of the bishopric of Famagusta alone, without royal support; nevertheless I do not think that the cathedral was built especially for the coronation. Henry II did not abandon the idea of recapturing Syria and Tyre afte their loss in 1291, as is testified by his expeditions against the little island of Ruad, his attempts to forge an alliance with the Mongols and the draft of the project for a new Crusade, sent to the Council of Vienne. Nevertheless, the foundation of a church for the coronation of the Kings of Jerusalem was undoubtedly not a priority of King Henry II after the fall of Acre. A. Franke, "St Nicholas in Famagusta: A New Approach to the Dating, Chronology and Sources of Architectural Language", in *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta*, 80, 91; Th. Soulard, "Les Ordres mendiants à Famagouste: une référence spirituelle et architecturale", in *ibid*., no. 37, 121. On Henry II and the planned crusades see P. W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191–1374* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 101–106; *Projets de croisade (v. 1290–v. 1330)*, ed. J. Paviot, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades publiés par l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, XX (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2008), 281–92.

does not seem to have been accepted unanimously: according to Henri Giblet, whose *Histoire des rois de Chypre* is based on chronicles that have not survived, there was an acrimonious argument over the sumptuous ceremony that marked the occasion of the coronation in Famagusta.[34] In his report one can detect a split between the nobility of Famagusta, originating from the kingdom of Jerusalem, on the one hand, and the nobility of Nicosia who condemned the impropriety of the extravagance at a time when the Christians were still mourning the loss of the towns of the Syrian coast.

Thus the kings of Cyprus artificially prolonged the life of the kingdom of Jerusalem—but outside the Cypriot capital, where the prestige of the crown of Jerusalem could have weakened the institutions of the young insular kingdom. Granting Famagusta symbolic political functions gave the inhabitants of the town the illusion of balancing out the centralization of Nicosia.

The urban institutions of the two principal cities of the kingdom were organized both in approximately the same period.[35] Just as had happened in the case of the central administration, the Lusignans transposed the institutional schema of the Kingdom of Jerusalem to the Cypriot towns. By the end of the thirteenth century there were two viscounts, at the head of the administrative districts of Nicosia and Famagusta, respectively. Chosen from the knights of the kingdom and ratified by the king, they presided over a *Cour des Bourgeois*, competent in both civil and criminal cases. The functions of the viscounts, as well as of the twelve jurors composing the court, were defined in the mid-fourteenth century by the *Livre contrefais au Livre des Assises et La manière dou plaidoier*.[36] The task of the viscount was to preside over the court and to pronounce sentence. Beside these legal functions, the viscount of Nicosia had the duty to maintain order in the capital and to oversee the prisons. The personnel under his authority consisted of a mathessep, charged with the supervision of the markets, a scribe and

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[34] Chevalier Henri Giblet Cypriot (= Gianfranceso Loredano), *Histoire des rois de Chypre de la Maison de Lusignan..., traduit de l'italien* (Paris: André Cailleau et Guillaume Saugrain, 1732), Vol. 1, 327; D. Jauna, *Histoire générale des roïaumes de Chypre, de Jérusalem, d'Arménie et d'Egypte* (Leiden: Jean Luzac, 1747), Vol. 2, 802–803. The condemnation of the dissolute customs and excesses of the population of Famagusta is often repeated in the travel accounts. See, e.g., Saint Bridget of Sweden in 1372: '*Hic ciuitas est Gomorra, ardens ignie luxurie et superfluitatis et ambicionis*': E. Piltz, "Saint Bridget and Byzantium—In view of her Cypriot Revelations", in *Praktika tou Protou Diethnous Kyprologikou Synedriou*, 3 vols. (Nicosia: 1971–1973), II, 51.

[35] On the urban institutions of Nicosia see N. Coureas, "The Development of Nicosia as the Judicial Centre of Cyprus under the Lusignans", *Epeterida Kentrou Epistemonikon Ereunon* 31 (2005), 73–89; M. Nader, *Burgesses and Burgess Law in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and Cyprus* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Ph. Trélat, *Nicosie, une capitale de l'Orient latin, société, économie et espace urbain (1192–1474)*, (PhD diss., University of Rouen, 2009), I, 151–155; N. Coureas, G. Grivaud and C. Schabel, "Frankish and Venetian Nicosia 1191–1570", in *Historic Nicosia*, 129–30. On those of Famagusta see J. Richard, "La cour des Syriens de Famagouste d'après un texte de 1448", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 12 (1987), repr. in idem, *Croisades et États Latins d'Orient* (London: Variorum reprints, 1992), XVI, 382–398; Pietro Valderio, *La guerra di Cipro*, ed. G. Grivaud and N. Patapiou (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1996), 3–15.

[36] Summary of the Livre des Assises de la cour des Bourgeois, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, 235–355.

two companies of 23 sergeants. As for the jurors, Frankish and other burghers of the Latin rite stood by the viscount and the burghers ready to offer advice.[37] Even if the institutions of the two cities seem to function in a parallel way and independently from each other in their districts, a paragraph of chapter XXIII of the second summary of the *Livre des Assises de la cour des bourgeois* reveals that the viscount and the court of Nicosia had authority over their counterparts in Famagusta in certain instances: if the viscount could not obtain a decision from his court, the right passed to the jurisdiction of Nicosia, which had to inform the king.[38] The pre-eminence of the urban institutions of Nicosia might explain their authority over those of Famagusta.

The Genoese occupation of Famagusta (1373–1464) marked a break, since la Superba introduced its own urban institutions with a podestà captain at the head, maintaining however the old legal institutions which had developed independently from those of Nicosia.[39] Just to mention one example: cases between the burghers and the Syrians were discussed before one and the same court, the Syrian court, presided over by a *raïs*, while the distinction between these two jurisdictions was maintained in the fifteenth century in Nicosia.[40]

After King James II had got rid of his half-sister Charlotte and her difficult Mameluke allies in a war of succession (1458–1464), he took Famagusta from the Genoese in January 1464.[41] The terms of the capitulation maintained the privileges granted to the burghers of Famagusta during the Genoese occupation. Among the eighteen clauses of the treaty there were safeguards for the different categories of urban inhabitants guaranteeing their property and exemptions; for example, the Greek burghers continued to be tried at the Syrian court.[42] The Genoese domination of Famagusta, which had lasted for nearly a century, had contributed to the strengthening of the urban identity and of a particular autonomy which the inhabitants did not want to lose after the return of the Lusignans. Following the conquest of the kingdom King James II and his

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37 Ibid., 239–42. For a detailed presentation of the tasks of the viscount and of the jurors see Valderio, *La guerra di Cipro*, 6–7.

38 Summary of the Livre des Assises de la cour des Bourgeois, 324.

39 On the institutions of Famagusta during the Genoese occupation, see C. Otten-Froux, "Quelques aspects de la justice à Famagouste pendant la période génoise", in *Praktika tou Tritou Diethnous Kyprologikou Synedriou*, 3 vols. (Nicosia: 1996-2001), II, 333–353; M. Balard, "Hoi Genouates sto Mesaioniko Basileio tes Kyprou", in *Historia tes Kyprou*, IV, *Mesaionikon Basileion, Henetokratia*, ed. Th. Papadopoullos (Nicosia, 1995), 259–332, repr. as idem, "Les Génois dans le royaume médiéval de Chypre", in *Les marchands italiens à Chypre*, ed. M. Balard (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2007), 49–61.

40 Richard, "La cour des Syriens de Famagouste d'après un texte de 1448", 394–95. We have few details concerning the other courts in Famagusta (*Cour du Châtelain*, *Cour de la Fonde* and *Cour de la Chaîne*). Valderio, *La guerra di Cipro*, 8.

41 G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940–1952), III, 589; P. W. Edbury, "Oi teleutaioi Louzinianoi (1432–1489)", in *Historia tes Kyprou*, IV, *Mesaionikon Basileion, Henetokratia*, ed. Th. Papadopoullos (Nicosie, 1995), 220–21.

42 Bustron, *Chronique de l'île de Chypre*, 412–14.

courtiers frequently visited Famagusta, where there was a royal palace near the cathedral of Saint Nicolas.[43] The *Livre des Remembrances*, preserved for the years 1468–1469, testifies to the partial shift of the centre of gravity of the Cypriot monarchy: 135 charters were issued in Nicosia against 17 in Famagusta.[44] King James had particular affection for the harbour that had been recaptured from the Genoese. He even celebrated his nuptials with Catherine Cornaro in 1472 there, and he resided in the town until his death on 6 July 1473.[45] The transfer of the royal court to Famagusta reflected his intention to keep his distance from Nicosia, which had supported his half-sister Charlotte in the civil war; this move also confirmed the definitive annexation of Famagusta to the Kingdom of Cyprus after ninety-three years of Genoese sovereignty.

The tension between the people of Nicosia and the exiled court in Famagusta grew during the reign of Catherine Cornaro (1474–1489). One of the factions of Nicosia lead by Stephen Koudouna pressed for the return of the Queen to the capital in December 1473. Their wish was not fulfilled until three years after the arrival of the Venetian queen in Famagusta. Without entering into details concerning her reign, the chronicler George Bustron indicated that Catherine remained in Nicosia for the next thirteen years.[46]

Nevertheless, her three-year stay in Famagusta certainly influenced the ideas of the Venetians when they discussed the future institutions before the Senate, to be established on the island in July 1489. The chronicle of Stefano Magno tells that one of the senators suggested that the lieutenant of Cyprus and his two councillors should reside in Famagusta rather than in Nicosia; but eventually the Venetian Senate rejected the proposition and installed the *regimento* in the old capital of the Lusignans, preferring by all means not to offend the Nicosians.[47]

During the three centuries of the history of the insular kingdom, which was marked by incidents, crises and military defeats, the affection of the Cypriot monarchy and of its nobility for the capital city proved constant, and the choice of Nicosia as the political capital was never seriously threatened.

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43 C. Enlart, *L'art gothique et la renaissance en Chypre*, 2 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899), II, 637–48.

44 J. Richard, *Le Livre des Remembrances de la Secrète du royaume de Chypre pour l'année (1468–1469)*,(Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1983).

45 King James II is buried in Saint Nicolas' Cathedral in Famagusta: Bustron, *Historia over Commentarii di Cipro*, 433; Georges Boustronios, *Tzortes (M)postrous (Georgios Bo(s)tr(y)nos e Boustronios). Diegesis Kronikas Kyprou*, ed. G. Kehagioglou (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1997), 151–53.

46 Ibid., 310–11. On Stephen Koudouna see L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, 3 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1852–1861), III, 397, no. 5.

47 E. A. Cicogna, *Delle inscrizioni veneziane* (Venise: Picotti, 1825–1853), Vol. 5, 219. On the Venetian institutions in Cyprus, see B. Arbel, "He Kypros hypo henetike kyriarkhia", in *Historia tes Kyprou*, IV, *Mesaionikon Basileion, Henetokratia*, ed. Th. Papadopoullos (Nicosia, 1995), 459–85; E. Skoufari, *Cipro veneziana (1473–1571)* (Roma: Viella, 2011), 54–70. On the rivalry between Nicosia and Famagusta in the Venetian period, see ibid., 76–81.

Complementarity and Economic Competition between the Two Cities

Even if Western merchants were not so drawn to the harbour of Famagusta during the period of Latin domination, it hardly needs restating that the wealth of the city in the first half of the fourteenth century was prodigious. The travellers, the Cypriot chroniclers and the notaries mentioned it frequently. Certain historians refer this to the general context of the pontifical prohibition, others to the favourable situation of the city with regard to the trade with the Levantine coast.[48] Finally, the historians of institutions emphasize the decisive role of the Lusignan rulers, Henry II and Hugh IV, who succeeded in creating customs facilities and advantageous fiscal measures that helped to support the commercial development of the city.[49]

The economic and commercial importance of Nicosia in the Frankish period does not need to be proven either. Despite the poor documentation, the wealth and the diversity of the markets of the capital are well established, as is the development of the production of precious fabrics (camlet, samite, baudekin and other silks) and artefacts (small wooden boxes made of cypress, artificial birds called "oiselets de Chypre", goldsmiths' works) made for the local urban elite as well as for the treasuries of the churches and the princely residences of the West.[50] We shall not discuss the question of the course of the development of such activities in Nicosia and in Famagusta; instead, the focus of our investigation will be the nature and the scale of the economic and commercial relations, and the circulation of the merchants and of their representatives, between the two cities.

First of all, the Cypriot capital served as a reserve of labour for the building sites of the port of Famagusta. Given the multiplication of the building sites in Famagusta at the beginning of the fourteenth century, with the construction of the cathedral of St Nicolas, the mendicant friaries, dozens of churches, a castle, a royal palace and

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48 J. Richard, "Le royaume de Chypre et l'embargo sur le commerce avec l'Egypte (fin XIII^{e}–début XIV^{e} siècle)", in *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: Comptes Rendus (janvier–mars 1984)*, repr. in idem, *Croisades et Etats Latins d'Orient* (Aldershot: Variorum Reprints, 1992), XVI, 120–34; C. Otten-Froux, "Les ports de Chypre (XIII^{e}–XV^{e})", in *Les ports et la navigation en Méditerranée au Moyen Age—Colloque de Lattes (Hérault)*, ed. G. Fabre, D. Le Blevec and D. Menjot (Paris: éditions le Manuscrit, 2009), 177–94.

49 M. Balard, "L'activité commerciale en Chypre dans les années 1300", in *Crusade and Settlement: papers read at the first conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and presented to R. C. Smail*, ed. P. W. Edbury (Cardiff: University College Cardiff, 1985), 255–56, repr. in idem, *Les marchands italiens à Chypre*, VI, 145–46.

50 Coureas, Grivaud and Schabel, "Frankish and Venetian Nicosia 1191–1570", 149–51. On the markets of Nicosia see Ph. Trélat and H. Iliadou, "Localiser les marchés. Les activités artisanales et commerciales à Nicosie durant les périodes latine et ottomane/Tracing the market place: Commercial and artisan activity in Nicosia between the Latin and Ottoman eras", *Cahier du Centre d'Etudes Chypriotes* 41 (2011): 299–311. On the production of precious objects see J. Durand and M. Martiani-Reber, "Opus Ciprense. Oiselets, or de Chypre et broderies", in *Chypre IV^{e}–XVI^{e} siècle entre Byzance et l'Occident*, ed. J. Durand and D. Giovannoni (Paris: Louvres éditions, 2012), 266–71.

an urban wall, it is not unreasonable to assume that architects, contractors and labourers from Nicosia contributed to these projects. Unfortunately there is little written evidence shedding light on any such mobility of labour. Amadi's chronicle states that serfs coming from all corners of the island participated in the digging of ditches; moreover, that the Jews and the burghers of Nicosia as well as of other towns had to make a financial contribution to the urban projects of the governor, Amaury of Tyre, at the beginning of the fourteenth century.[51] Art historians have hypothesised that the craftsmen of Nicosia participated in work on the building sites of Famagusta. Decorative elements on the portals and fanlights of St George's Cathedral of the Greeks present strong similarities with the decoration of the cathedral of St Sophia and the tomb of Eschive of Dampierre in the church of Notre-Dame of Tortosa in Nicosia.[52] In the same way, archaeological examination of the Church of St Peter and St Paul's has revealed analogies with the porch built around 1330 of the cathedral of St Sophia.[53] These few examples support the hypothesis that craftsmen circulated between the large building sites of the two principal cities in the first half of the fourteenth century.

Another illustration of this mobility of labourers can be found in the accounts of Bishop Gerard of Paphos, preserved in the Vatican Archives and published by Jean Richard.[54] This document proves that master carpenters and their assistants were engaged in Nicosia for the construction of ships on the building site of the royal arsenal in Famagusta. Out of the seventy-nine persons working and paid in Famagusta one can identify thirteen masters or journeymen known to originate from Nicosia, nine from Famagusta itself and two from Limassol (in most cases the town of origin of the employees was not mentioned). Hired in one of the squares of the capital, they had to rent beasts of burden in order to travel to the construction sites. It is probable that the maintenance, the restoration and the servicing of other sites, palaces, castles and urban walls belonging to the king also attracted numbers of labourers from Nicosia.

The production of camlets and other precious fabrics also resulted in the transfer of labourers from Famagusta to Nicosia. In fact, Nicosia and Famagusta monopolized these activities from the end of the thirteenth century. The weaving workshops and the dyeworks employed a large part of the urban populations and their production contributed to the prosperity of the two cities.[55] However, the Genoese occupation apparently

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51 Chronique d'Amadi, 326–327.

52 Ph. Plagnieux and Th. Soulard, "La cathédrale Saint-Georges des Grecs", in *L'art gothique en Chypre*, 295–296.

53 Idem, "L'église Saint-Pierre Saint-Paul", in *L'art gothique en Chypre*, 284.

54 J. Richard, "Les comptes de l'évêque Géraud de Paphos et les constructions navales en Chypre," in idem, *Documents chypriotes des archives du Vatican (XIV[e] et XV[e] siècles)* (Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1962), 33–49.

55 On the production of camlets and other precious fabrics in Cyprus see D. Jacoby, "Camlet Manufacture: Trade in Cyprus and the Economy of Famagusta from the Thirteenth to the Late Fifteenth Century", in *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta*, 15–42.

instigated a rivalry between the two industrial centres. A petition sent by the inhabitants of Famagusta to the Venetian government in 1491 recalled how the craftsmen working in the textile industry of the town departed after the dyework of Famagusta was closed in 1473 and joined their colleagues in Nicosia.[56] By the end of the fifteenth century, the production of precious fabrics, in particular those earmarked as part of the tribute destined for Egypt, was already concentrated in the workshops of the capital. Unfortunately, the documentation does not shed light on whether there were other situations of conflict that could rise out of the competition between the two towns.

Which other professions were involved in this mobility? Clerks trained in the capital sometimes went to work in Famagusta, as the example of Georgius Petropoulos, son of Simon *civis Nicosia* illustrates, who was confirmed as *scribarius* of Famagusta in 1411.[57] A document in the Genoese archives dating from 1463 preserved a list of inhabitants of Nicosia who had possessions in Famagusta. Among these names we find several families of Syrian origin, such as the families Cadith, Bustron or Gonème, who surely participated in the industrial and commercial activities of the harbour, perhaps in association with Genoese merchants.[58]

The presence of the arsenal, the royal and episcopal administration and the large building sites in Famagusta made the complementarity of the economic life of Nicosia and Famagusta to a certain extent inevitable. What can be observed in the case of the arts and crafts is also true for the trade of the Western merchants. Not that much is known about the involvement of the major Genoese and Venetian families in the economic activity of Nicosia compared with Famagusta, due to the disappearance of the protocols of the notaries public who were charged with issuing charters in the capital city. Nevertheless, the documents issued by the Genoese notary Lamberto di Sambuceto allow some insight into the Genoese presence in the Cypriot capital at the end of the thirteenth century.

Based on the study of the documents mentioning Nicosia, it emerges that several major Genoese families present in Famagusta sent one of their members to the capital in order to represent their interests there. For example, out of the 25 members of the de Mari family engaged in commercial life, mainly in Famagusta, eight persons are known to have worked in Nicosia.[59] Their activity is documented in 1297 from March

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56 Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, Vol. 3, 490.

57 W. H. Rudt de Collenberg, "Études de prosopographie généalogique des Chypriotes mentionnés dans les registres du Vatican 1378–1471", *Meletai kai Hypomnemata* 1 (1984): 528.

58 Archivio di Stato di Genova, *Famagustae liber inventariorum* no. 1299, fol. 6v, 8V, 36v, 38v, 41v, 44v, 78v, 89v, 107v, 115v, 116v, etc. quoted in Balard, Les Génois dans le royaume médiéval de Chypre, 45.

59 *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (11 ottobre 1296—23 giugno 1299)*, ed. M. Balard, Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi diretta da Geo Pistarino (=CSFS), 39 (Genova: Istituto di Medievistica, Università di Genova, 1983), no. 22, 39, 40, 41, 46, 49, 50, 55, 56, 57, 62, 63, 65, 70, 71, 78, 79, 82, 85, 88; *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (31 marzo 1304–19 luglio*

to December, in the same period during which the notary Lamberto di Sambuceto transferred his practice to Nicosia. Pascal de Mari was even podestà in the very same year. The *albergho* de Mari and its contacts in Nicosia did not come about as a result of Sambuceto's relocation to the capital, since the documents testify that the contacts between the family and the inhabitants of Nicosia continued even after the notary finished his work in the city. Also documented are the links between Pascal de Mari and a clothier of Nicosia in 1301 and between the same Genoese merchant and the countess of Jaffa in 1307. The former podestà was still present in the capital in 1310–1311, as he was witness in the trial of the Templars.[60] Among other famous names of the Genoese aristocracy and financial elite who were active in the capital city and in Famagusta as well, we can cite the families Clavaro, de Porta and Rosso. The last one, also known under the Latin name Rubeus, boasted two members, Pietro and Giacomo, who are mentioned in the documents as citizens or inhabitants of Nicosia originating from Genoa.[61]

The other Western communities, though less documented, likewise had interests in both of the principal cities of the kingdom of Cyprus. A representative of one of the great Pisan families, Betto Aliato, for instance is mentioned in Nicosia in 1319, although he frequented the harbour of Famagusta ten years earlier as well.[62]

The great families and companies of Western merchants sought to install their representatives in the capital and in the major harbour of the island. In order to ensure the protection of their interests, the authorities of the commercial cities often proceeded in very similar fashion.

1305, 4 gennaio–12 luglio 1307) Giovanni de Rocha (3 agosto 1308–14 marzo 1310), ed. M. Balard, (Genova: Istituto di Medievistica, Università di Genova, 1984), no. 126; *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (3 luglio 1300–3 agosto 1301)*, ed. V. Polonio, CSFS, 31 (Genova: Istituto di Medievistica, Università di Genova, 1982), no. 315. On the *albergho* de Mari see J. A. Cancellieri, "De Mari", in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana), Vol. 38, 478s.; N. Coureas, "I mercanti genovesi e le loro attività a Nicosia dall'marzo all'ottobre 1297", in *Alle origini di Alessandria. Dal Gonfalone del Comune nella Lega Lombarda all'Aquila Imperiale degli Staufen*, ed. Comune di Alessandria (Alessandria: i Grafismi Boccassi, 2005), 190–91.

60 *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, ed. A. Gilmour-Bryson (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 67–69.

61 *Notai genovesi in Oltremare*, CSFS, 39, no. 71, 73, 74, 77; *Notai genovesi in Oltremare*, CSFS, 32, no. 260, 384; *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (6 luglio–27 ottobre 1301)*, ed. R. Pavoni, CSFS, 32 (Genova: Istituto di Medievistica, Università di Genova, 1982), no. 10, 183. On these families see Coureas, "I mercanti genovesi e le loro attività a Nicosia", 191–94. Michel Balard has, however, called attention to the uncertainty about the name of the family *Rubeus* which could refer to one of the members of the Genoese Rosso family, but also to Russians named by their Christian names, to whom the designation *Rubeus* was also attached. Like the family de Mari, this family was still present in Nicosia in the years 1310–1311 since two of its members were summoned as witnesses in the trial of the Templars. See M. Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XII^{e}–début du XV^{e} siècle)* (Roma: Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome–Genoa: Atti della Soietà Ligure di Storia Patria, 1978), Vol. 1, 287; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, 69–70.

62 Aliato, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 1, 497.

Up until the fall of Acre, the governments of the commercial cities considered their Cypriot mercantile colonies of minor importance compared to their representatives in the Holy Land, on account of which these colonies benefited from legal autonomy.[63] After 1291, the massive immigration of refugees from the coastal cities of the Levant justified the establishment of consular institutions on the island. The foreign communities appointed their representatives and their rights were then determined by treaties concluded with the Lusignan monarchy. In each case the question of the apportionment of charges between Nicosia and Famagusta, as well as of the hierarchy of the representatives could be negotiated.

In general, the foreign consuls defended the interests of their compatriot merchants, administered justice in civil and criminal cases except for theft, rape and homicide and had the duty to transmit their requests to the king and the urban authorities. The consuls acted as mediators within the merchant community when it came to settling conflicts or to arranging the inheritance issues of a compatriot who had died far away from his homeland while engaged in trade.[64] In the first half of the fourteenth century the Western communities chose Famagusta as the primary residence of their representatives, since it was closer to their main activities on the island.[65] But the Genoese and the Venetians, who were more involved in the domestic trade of the island than other Western merchants, needed a consular representative in the capital, too. They had major economic interests there; their merchants settled in the city on a long term basis and maintained privileged links with the Lusignan dynasty. It is not known exactly when the representative institutions of the Genoese community were installed, but their establishment certainly tallied with the flood of refugees coming from the cities of the Holy Land: Margat in 1285, Tripoli and Batroun in 1289, Gibelet, Tortosa, Sidon and Tyre in 1291. A podestà settled in Nicosia, if a charter issued by Lamberto di Sambuceto in 1297 and quoting another document issued in 1294 *in actis curie Nicosie* is to be believed.[66] Court officers, a clerk of the court (*platearius*), a bailiff (*bacularius*),

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63 R. Lefevre, "Le basi giuridiche dell'organizzazione genovese in Cipro (secc. XIII–XIV)", *Rivista di Storia del diritto italiano* 11 (1938): 26–27.

64 P. W. Edbury, "Cyprus and Genoa: The Origins of the War of 1373–1374", in *Praktika tou Deuterou Diethnous Kypriologikou Synedriou*, 3 vols. (Nicosia: 1985–1987), II, 109–26, repr. in idem, *Kingdoms of the Crusaders: from Jerusalem to Cyprus* (Aldershot: Variorum reprints, 1999), XIV, 121–22.

65 M. Balard, "L'activité commerciale en Chypre", 146; Jacoby, "The Rise of a New Emporium", 156–57. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Pisans had access to representatives in Famagusta and in Limassol; however, we do not know whether the merchants of Marseilles, Montpellier, Barcelona and Narbonne had the benefit of a consular service on the island.

66 *Notai genovesi in Oltremare*, CSFS, 39, no. 52, 64; Balard, Les Génois dans le royaume médiéval de Chypre, 50; in 1292, Matteo Zaccaria, *potestas et vicecomes Ianuensis in regno Cypro*, the first Genoese of this rank and function, must have already been resident in Nicosia. On the Genoese administration in Nicosia see N. Coureas, "Economy", in *Cyprus Society and Culture 1191–1374*, ed. A. Nicolaou-Konnari and C. Schabel, (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2005), 131.

an usher (*uscerius*) and a *serviens domini potestatis* helped the magistrate with his everyday tasks.[67] A document issued on 12 March 1297 draws our attention as well to the captain of the Genoese, charged with the military and legal matters of the Comune; he granted the accounts office to Nicolinus Binellus who gave it in turn to Bonaiuncta de Savio.[68] By the end of the thirteenth century the Genoese merchants already disposed of enough qualified persons to manage their business in the capital.

The rapid expansion of Famagusta—which benefitted from the support of the Cypriot crown, the pontifical *devetum* and by the development of the harbour of Aïas in Cilicia—inspired Tommas Panzanus, the new *potestas Ianuensium in partibus cismarinis* to spend more time there than in the capital city.[69] The Genoese subsequently maintained a consul in Nicosia, while following the Genoese seizure of Famagusta the first magistrate of the Commune bore the title of *potestas et capitaneus* in Famagusta from 1374 till 1447.[70] The Genoese consul also performed the function of treasurer of the *mahona vetus* of Cyprus and as such collected the sums owed to the king of Cyprus.[71] A treaty concluded with Genoa in 1441 bound the Cypriot crown to pay a yearly salary of 1000 bezants to the consul of Nicosia.[72]

It is not without difficulty that one identifies the representatives of Venice on the island, as their titles tended to change without necessarily reflecting an evolution in the institutions. As in the case of other communities of Western merchants there is no Venetian representative registered in the capital until the end of the thirteenth century. In 1300–1301 there was a certain Niccolò Zugno living *in logia Venetorum Famaguste*,

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67 *Notai genovesi in Oltremare*, CSFS, 39, no. 38, 48. The establishing of the Genoese administration in Nicosia in 1299 is analysed by Jacoby, "The Rise of a New Emporium", 162–63.

68 *Notai genovesi in Oltremare*, CSFS, 39, no. 57.

69 *Notai genovesi in Oltremare*, CSFS, 32, no. 242; Balard, Les Génois dans le royaume médiéval de Chypre, 51; Coureas, "Economy", 189.

70 Balard, "Les Génois dans le royaume médiéval de Chypre", 52.

71 C. Otten-Froux, "Les relations politico-financières de Gênes avec le royaume des Lusignans (1374–1460)", in *Coloniser au Moyen Âge*, ed. M. Balard and A. Ducellier (Paris: Armand Colin, 1995), 67.

72 C. Otten-Froux, *Une enquête à Chypre au XV^e siècle. Le sindicamentum de Napoleone Lomellini, capitaine génois de Famagouste (1459)* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2000), 13; N. Bănescu, *Le déclin de Famagouste. Fin du royaume de Chypre. Notes et Documents* (Bucureşti: Institut Roumain d'Études Byzantines, 1946), 112. In 1449, the consul of Nicosia was elected for two years with a yearly salary of 500 *aurei* and the option to raise taxes on the *comerc* of Nicosia in order to cover the consul's salary if the King or the *massaria* of Famagusta should fail to pay it. For other mentions of the Genoese consul of Nicosia, see N. Iorga, "Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au XV^e siècle", *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 4 (1896), 110; 6 (1898), 385, 421, 423, 424, 427, 433; 7 (1900), 401–41, 44, 55; 8 (1901), 28; *Die Genuesen auf Zypern*, ed. S. Bliznyuk (Frankfurt, 2005), no. 51, 58; F. de Caria and D. Taverna, "Les Lusignan et la Maison de Savoie: le mariage entre Louis II et Anne Lusignan de Chypre, 1432–1462", in *Actes du Colloque Les Lusignans et l'Outre mer,* ed C. Mutafian, (Poitiers–Lusignan, 1993), 109–21. 120; L. Balletto, "L'isola di Cipro nell'anno della caduta di Constantinopoli", *Anuario de estudios medievales* 22 (1992): 211, 222; C. Otten-Froux, "Les investissements financiers des Chypriotes en Italie", in *Praktika Diethnous Symposiou Kypros-Venetia: Koines historikes tyches (Athens 1–3 March, 2001)*, ed. C. Maltezou (Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi byzantini e postbyzantini di Venezia, 2002), 131.

mentioned in three charters; in September 1300 he was called bailiff of the Venetians, then in October consul and again bailiff in August 1301.[73] The reasons for the changes of title are unclear, as are the facts behind the mention of a certain Marco, consul of the Venetians in Nicosia, in the same year.[74] Regarding the precedence of the titles, one has to consider that the bailiff of Famagusta must have had authority over his colleague the consul who was entrusted with the settlement of disputes within the Venetian community of the capital.

In the second half of the fourteenth century the only interesting information provided by documents originating from Famagusta concerns the activity of the Venetian bailiffs in office at the moment when the notaries Simeone and Nicola de Boateriis were working in Famagusta.[75] However, there is no indication that the function of the consul disappeared in the same period in Nicosia.

The occupation of Famagusta by the Genoese in 1374 forced the Venetian authorities to reorganize the institutions of their community. On 13 February 1375, the bailiff of the Serenissima had to leave the island and he was replaced by a consul elected with the participation of the White Venetians.[76] From 1378 onwards the trade between Cyprus and Venice revived and in 1390 the council of the Pregadi established a new regulation for the Venetian bailiffs. Such a bailiff was elected for a period of two years by the Great Council by a majority of the votes in a poll with four ballots. He was obliged to reside in Nicosia and received a yearly salary of 4,000 bezants, but he could not engage in trade in the capital. In his activities the bailiff was assisted by a domestic staff and also had three *bastonerii* at his service. Among his duties, the Serenissima entrusted him with organizing festivities in the Cypriot capital in honour of Saint

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73 C. Desimoni, "Actes passés à Famagouste de 1299 à 1301 par-devant le notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto", *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 2 (1884), no. CCCVIII; *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (6 luglio–27 ottobre 1301)*, ed. R. Pavoni, CSFS, 32 (Genova: Istituto di Medievistica, Università di Genova, 1982), no. 29, 37, 69. The catalogue of the Venetian bailiffs in Cyprus (1303–1489), extracted from the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana of Venice, Ms. It. VII 198 (8383), contains a number of gaps and mistakes: A. Aristeidou, *Anekdota engrapha tes kypriakes historias apo to kratiko arkheio tes Venetias*, 4 vols. (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1990–2003), I, 156. On the Venetian bailiffs of Cyprus see Jacoby, "The Rise of New Emporium", 169–71.

74 Balard, "Venise et Chypre à la fin du XII^{e} et au début du XIV^{e} siècle", 52; *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (gennaio–agosto 1302)*, ed. R. Pavoni, CSFS, 49 (Genova: Istituto di Medievistica, Università di Genova, 1987), no. 206.

75 C. Otten-Froux, "Un notaire vénitien à Famagouste au XIV^{e} siècle. Les actes de Simeone, prêtre de San Giacomo dell'Orio (1362–1371)", *Thesaurismata* 33 (2003): 122; *Nicola de Boateriis Notaio in Famagosta e Venezia (1355–1365)*, ed. A. Lombardo (Venice: Fonti per la Storia di Venezia, 1973), 378.

76 Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 363–364; D. Jacoby, "Citoyens, sujets et protégés de Venise et de Gênes en Chypre du XIII^{e} au XV^{e} siècle", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 5 (1977): 159–88, repr. in idem, *Recherches sur la Méditerranée Orientale du XII^{e} au XV^{e} siècle* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1979), VI, 183. The Serenissima seems to have maintained a consul in Famagusta. On the difficulty of distinguishing the functions of the bailiff and the consul in this period, see Richard, *Le Livre des Remembrances de la Secrète*, 202.

Mark.[77] The Venetian magistrate Marco Justiniano, whom the pilgrim Nicolò III of Este met in 1412, was seconded by a vice bailiff and a chancellor.[78] With the decline of the commercial importance of Famagusta, the activity of the Venetian community in Nicosia seems to have intensified in the fifteenth century and the various sources bear witness to the activities of the Venetian magistrate. Justiniano exercised a protective role in his community, welcoming Venetian merchants and their goods in his house in 1426; yet despite the peace between Venice and Egypt, the residence of the bailiff Esmerio Querini was plundered by the Mamluks. In the next year, the institution of bailiff was suspended and until 1430 Venice employed only a vice bailiff.[79] Thereafter the bailiff continued his work until the Serenissima took possession of the island in 1474 and he became a tool of Venetian policy that aimed to place a stranglehold on the Cypriot monarchy financially.[80]

Conclusion

The long-term analysis of the political, economic and commercial relations between Nicosia and Famagusta, the two principal urban centres of the Cypriot Kingdom of the Lusignan dynasty, has emphasized the leading role played by the place of royal residence in defining the status of the capital city of Nicosia. As a determining factor this appeared crucial for travellers, who considered a meeting with the king to be an important stage in their pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Not being an itinerant monarchy, the Lusignans sought to strengthen the state by holding their coronation, concentrating their administration and organizing courtly life in the capital of Nicosia. Despite the transfer of the coronation of the king of Jerusalem to Famagusta and the tremen-

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77 Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 364, 418–420. A copy of the seal of a Venetian bailiff of Nicosia, Marino Michiel (1308–1310), is preserved: G. Majer, Sigilli di baili veneziani in Oriente, *Archivio Veneto* 29 (1941): 125.

78 F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, 2 vols. (Paris: 1958–1961), II, no. 1154; Dal Campo, *Viaggio del Marchese Nicolò III d'Este*, 212; Otten-Froux, "Un notaire vénitien à Famagouste", 16 ; J. Richard, "Une famille de *«Vénitiens blancs»* dans le royaume de Chypre au milieu du XV[e] siècle: les Audeth et la seigneurie de Marethasse", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 1 (1981), repr. in idem, *Croisés, missionnaires et voyageurs* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1983), X, 125. The decision to proceed with the election of a vice bailiff of Cyprus was taken in 1402, and it was made clear that this magistrate should not belong to the Corner family, obviously because of the risk of the collusion of interests.

79 Amadi, *Cronaca di Cipro*, 512; Machairas, *Khroniko tes Kyprou*, 454; Chronique de Strambaldi, en *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, 2 vols. ed. R. de Mas Latrie, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1891–1893), II, 283; Bustron, *Chronique de l'île de Chypre*, 366–368; Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise*, Vol. 2, no. 2068.

80 Various mentions in the sources: Richard, Une famille de *«Vénitiens blancs »* dans le royaume de Chypre, 96 ; L. de Mas Latrie, Documents nouveaux servant de preuves à l'histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan, *Mélanges historiques* 4 (1882): 372–378; Boustronios, *Tzortzes (M)poustrous*, 152–53; the vice bailiff: F. Scalamonti, *Vita viri clarissimi et famosissimi Kyriaci Anconitani*, eds. E. W. Bodnar, C. Mitchell (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1996), 54.

dous commercial prosperity the city enjoyed in the first half of the fourteenth century, the town of Famagusta could never acquire the legitimizing character of Nicosia. This founding gesture, suggested by the Latin nobility originating from the Holy Land, was overweighed by the tradition of having a unique and fixed capital city in the island since the eleventh century. The merchant communities originating from the West recognized the need to have commercial and consular representatives in Nicosia near the king, even while their main activities were concentrated around the harbour of Famagusta.

With the Genoese occupation of Famagusta (1373–1464) the town changed from the status of fictive capital of the Kingdom of Jerusalem to that of an enclave within the kingdom of Cyprus. After the domination of the Lusignans was once more restored over the city, a policy of territorial rebalancing was introduced. King James II and after him Catherine Cornaro put this into effect by residing for longer periods in their palace of Famagusta, while nonetheless taking care not to offend the susceptibilities of the people of Nicosia who preferred to have their ruler within their own city walls. In their eyes, the kingdom was represented by the place where the king resided. Was Nicosia a case of the *urbs regia* personifying the *regnum*? It was this political concept that inspired the verses Dante dedicated to Cyprus in his *Commedia* (Paradise XIX, vv. 145–148):

> 'E creder de ciascun che già, per arra
> Di questo, Nicosia e Famagosta
> Per la lor bestia si lamenti e garra,
> Che dal finaco dell'altre non si scosta'.[81]

[81] "In earnest of that day, e'en now are heard
Wailings and groans in Famagosta's streets
And Nicosia's, grudging at their beast,
Who keepeth even footing with the rest."
(Dante Allighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, trans. Henry F. Cary, Harvard Classics vol. 20 (New York: P. F. Collier & Son, 1909–1914; New York: Bartlebycom, 2001, http://www.bartleby.com/20/319.html)
The meaning appears to be that the complaints made by those two cities of their weak and worthless governor may be regarded as an earnest of his condemnation at the last doom.

STEPHEN OF MEZEL BISHOP OF FAMAGUSTA AND HIS AGE (1244–1259)

Pierre Vincent Claverie

Dicebat Bernardus Carnotensis nos esse quasi nanos gigantum umeris insidentes: John of Salisbury's famous sentence perfectly expresses the current situation of the state of research on the Latin Church in the Eastern Mediterranean. The historian looking for unpublished documents either has to work through the archives systematically or to use earlier publications in order to detect the traces of a forgotten source. This is how the episcopology of Cyprus makes progress each year, thanks to the publication of revised sources by Christopher Schabel, as well as the discoveries of European medievalists following the footsteps of Jean Richard. The research of Emmanuel Grelois on the Church of Clermont has revealed the names of two bishops of Famagusta, active in the 1240s: Hugh of Banson and George. The old works of Augustin Chassaing (1830–1892) and of Marcellin Boudet (1834–1915) have helped to identify their successor as well, Stephen of Mezel, whose origins and career in the East are the subject of the present paper. However, before we turn to him, it is important to describe the situation of the island of Cyprus in the mid-thirteenth century.[1]

Auvergnacs in the Clergy of Cyprus during the Archiepiscopal Reign of Eustorge of Montaigut

Modern historiography often has recourse to more or less artificial concepts in order to describe the realities of the past. The study of the era of archbishop Eustorge of Montaigut has revealed two significant tendencies in the first half of the thirteenth century. The first is the patriarchalization of his power, as stressed in my recent book on the eastern policy of Pope Honorius III (1216–1227). The second is the increasing influence in Cyprus exercised by the clergy of Auvergne, which led to a certain 'alverno-

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[1] John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, ed. J. B. Hall (Turnhout, 1991) (*Continuatio Mediaevalis*, XCVIII), book 3, chap. 4, 116; C. Schabel and J. Richard, *Bullarium Cyprium* (Nicosia, 2010 and 2012), Vol. 3; P.-V. Claverie (with E. and J.-P. Grélois), "*Apud Ciprum Nicossiam* : notes sur les relations cyprio-auvergnates au XIII^{e} siècle", *Epeterida tou Kentrou Epistemonikon Ereunon*, XXXI (2005), 39–71.

cratie' in the Latin bishoprics of the island during the forty-year archiepiscopal reign of Eustorge of Montaigut. 'Eustorge of Auvergne' belonged to a family of Puy-de-Dôme, vassals of the church of Clermont and possessors around 1200 of the castle of Montaigut-le-Blanc, together with the territories of Chaynat, Ludesse and Saint-Vincent. Their red coat-of-arms with the two-toned lion became familiar in the East after two of the family members had been elected bishops in Cyprus. Fulk of Montaigut administered the bishopric of Limassol from 1211 to 1218, while his brother Eustorge or Astorg took charge over the metropolitan church of Nicosia.[2]

The reputation of the Montaigut-Champeix was so exalted that the Templars as well as the Knights Hospitaller elected two brothers of Eustorge and Fulk of Montaigut as their Grand Masters in the East. Historians expressed doubts concerning their relationship until the discovery of a passage in the chronicle of Philip of Novara confirming the information of the monk Aubry of Trois-Fontaines. The Grand Masters Peter and Garin of Montaigut were not only brothers as their surnames would suggest, but they originated from the same phratry as *l'archevesque de Chipre, Estorgue*. Little is known of their parents except for their names, Peter and Alix or Alice, which also occur in other generations. Their link to the family of Lusignan remains obscure, despite the curious heraldic similarity. The Montaigut stressed their Auvergne origins even after they had established themselves in the East and they continued to maintain their connections to the region. Several pious donations and the regular arrival of clergymen from Auvergne attest to the flourishing contacts between the Massif Central and the island of Cyprus in the mid-thirteenth century.[3]

Eustorge of Montaigut took advantage of this wave of immigration to increase the number of the clergy of Nicosia to five deacons, five subdeacons, ten priests and ten acolytes up until 1240. Among his beneficiaries the chaplain John of Montferrand played a prominent role. He brought a *staurotheca* to his native town in 1246 that became highly venerated there. However, this priest should be distinguished from the canon John of Auvergne who followed a career in the Holy Land in the 1230s.[4] There were two further eminent members of the Cypriot clergy during the 1240s with origins in the Auvergne. One of them is the former archdeacon of Saint-Flour and canon of Clermont, Hugh de Banson, who acquired the see of Famagusta thanks to the support

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2 P.-V. Claverie, *Honorius III et l'Orient (1216-1227)* (Leyde, 2013), 154–155; idem, "*Apud Ciprum Nicossiam*: notes sur les relations cyprio-auvergnates au XIII[e] siècle", 41–42 ; R. Sève, "La seigneurie épiscopale de Clermont des origines à 1357", *Revue d'Auvergne*, XCIV (1980), 131 (oath of fealty of 1230).

3 Claverie, "*Apud Ciprum Nicossiam* : notes sur les relations cyprio-auvergnates au XIII[e] siècle", 42–43 et 61–62; Philippe de Novarre, *Guerra di Federico II in Oriente (1223-1242)*, ed. S. Melani (Naples, 1994), § 49 (145) 116 ; P. Audigier, *Historie d'Auvergne* (Clermont-Ferrand, 1899), 69.

4 C. Schabel, *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, Papal Letters Concerning Cyprus, 1196-1261 (Nicosia, 2010), d-34 332–333 (pontifical confirmation); L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1852–1861), III, 646–647.

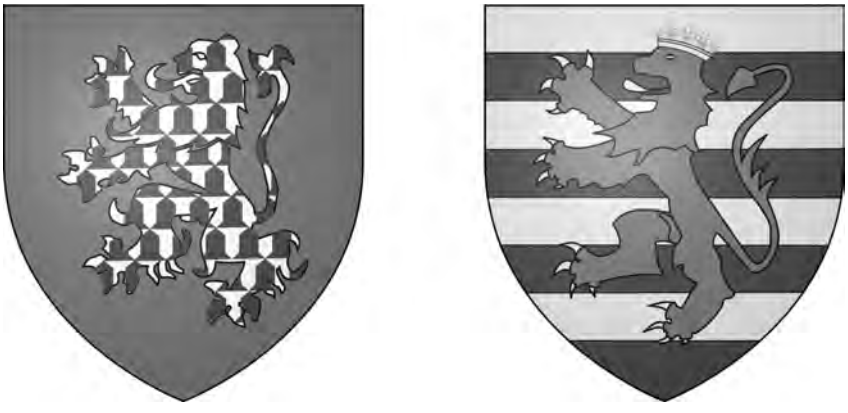

Figure 1. Coats-of-arms of the Montaigut-Champeix and Lusignan Families of Cyprus

of Eustorge of Montaigut. Hugh disappears on the 16 October 1243 or 1244, leaving twenty livres to the cathedral chapter of Clermont to commemorate the anniversary of his death. One expert in Byzantine history has endeavored to extend his episcopate to 1259, identifying him with a prelate assassinated at the beginning of the War of Saint-Sabas. However, this is an obvious mistake, since the authentication of the relics of Bishop George of Famagusta dating to 1245 gives the name of the immediate successor of Hugh of Banson as George.[5]

The identity of this bishop of Famagusta is still so little known that Christopher Schabel a few years ago tried to identify him as Abbot George of Bellapaïs who held this office at the beginning of the year 1247. He cited the fact that George of Famagusta interceded in the matter of the acquisition of a relic of the True Cross by John of Montferrand, master chaplain of the church of Nicosia. This relic, he argued, is possibly to be identified with the *staurotheca* given by the knight Roger Lenormand to the abbot George of Bellapaïs in February 1247 (new style). The idea seems to be plausible, even if this kind of donation was rare in the Middle Ages and the relic acquired by John of Montferrand arrived in Auvergne in the summer of 1246, according to an official weighing that took place there on 2 July of that year. A more daring hypothesis was put forward by the author of the present paper in 2005, identifying George of Famagusta with a bishop of Limassol, also originating from the Auvergne, who made his will in February 1249 (new style). A better knowledge of the history and of the onomastics

5 Claverie, "*Apud Ciprum Nicossiam* : notes sur les relations cyprio-auvergnates au XIII[e] siècle", 48–52 and n° 1, 70 ; R. Janin, "Famagouste", *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, XVI (1967), col. 456; P.-F. Fournier, "Georges, évêque de Famagouste (XIII[e] siècle)", *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, C (1939),: 227–229.

of Auvergne would have prevented this error, given that an earlier scholar had already called attention to the fact that William of Cros from Clermont occupied the see of Limassol or Nimosia in the thirteenth century.[6]

William, formerly provost of the chapter, possessed the castle of Chamalières as a fief of the church of Clermont, as well as the castle of Vernines (district of Clermont-Ferrand, canton of Rochefort-Montagne) of Count Robert II of Clermont. After he became bishop of Limassol, he donated twenty livres to the Clermont cathedral chapter on condition that four deniers were to be distributed among the clerics present at his death-vigil and his funeral mass. The family to which William of Cros belonged was one of the most honourable and noble families in Auvergne and they considered the tithe as a fief belonging to them. William managed to acquire a prebend for his nephew in the chapter of Limassol, which the latter renounced in 1257 in order to keep the granary of the church of Brioude. William the Younger became archdeacon of Clermont for a few years before his relative Aymar took possession of the local episcopal see (1286). However, the fortunes of his family must not blind us to the successful career in the East of another set of relations from the Auvergne, originating from the right bank of the River Allier. This was the family of Mezel, that has remained in obscurity for a considerable length of time.[7]

The Familial Antecedents of Stephen of Mezel

For the identification of Stephen of Mezel as bishop of Famagusta and as a relation of the Grand Commander of the Knights Hospitaller, active in the 1260s, we have Augustin Chassaing of Velay to thank. Chassaing was the first to discover the date of Stephen's death in the obituary of the Clermont cathedral, known as the register of *La Canone*. He dated his episcopate to around 1260 and he apprised Louis de Mas Latrie of the date of the memorial mass of Mezel in the church of Clermont. The date 1246 began to be associated with Stephen's episcopate—although the historian Marcellin Boudet placed it in the years 1260–1274—after his will was discovered in the departmental archives of Puy-de-Dôme.[8] This discovery helped to shed light on the familial anteced-

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6 Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 646–647; Claverie, "*Apud Ciprum Nicossiam* : notes sur les relations cyprio-auvergnates au XIII[e] siècle", 54–57 & n° 2 p. 71; J. Savaron, *Les origines de Clairmont, ville capitale d'Auvergne* (Clermont, 1607), 286.

7 D. de Sainte-Marthe, *Gallia christiana*, II (Paris, 1720), col. 305; Claverie, "*Apud Ciprum Nicossiam* : notes sur les relations cyprio-auvergnates au XIII[e] siècle", n° 2 71 ; L. Welter, "Le chapitre cathédral de Clermont : sa constitution, ses privilèges", *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, XLI (fasc. 136), 1955. 26 ; J. de Loye and P. de Cenival, *Les registres d'Alexandre IV : recueil des bulles de ce pape* (Paris, 1917), II, n° 1872, 575–577 (an exchange of benefices with the canon Hugh da Camezzano).

8 A. Chassaing, *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers (ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem) du Velay* (Paris, 1888), lxi; L. de Mas Latrie, *Trésor de Chronologie, d'Histoire et de Géographie pour l'étude et l'emploi des documents du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1889), col. 2204; J. Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus* (London, 1901), 578; M. Boudet, "Les Gayte et les Chauchat" (Continuation), *Revue d'Auvergne*, XXIX (1912), not. 2, 120.

ents of Stephen of Mezel, as well as on the matter of the diffusion of his coat-of-arms throughout the East. In his last will a fragment of his seal has been preserved: 'barry of four sable and argent'. The document is still unpublished, although several authors have mentioned his donation of 100 sous to support the construction of the gothic cathedral in Clermont, a project initiated by Bishop Hugh of La Tour du Pin (1227–1249).[9]

The Mezel family had been vassals of the church of Clermont since the eleventh century. Their fief encompassed the territory of Mezel as well as the neighbouring domains of Saint-Bonnet-lès-Allier and Dallet. This fief did not include the village of Mezel itself which was administered by a bailiff of the bishop and—from 1259 onwards—by four consuls.[10] The Mezel family contributed four members to the cathedral chapter in the thirteenth century, among them Guy the archdeacon of Saint-Flour, who was buried in around 1250 in the Saint-Arthème chapel of the cathedral.[11] Their lineage seems to have had earlier contacts with the Latin East, judging by references in documents to "Oliver", the name borne by the father of our Stephen in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Oliver participated with his son and successor, Hugh II, in the administrative inquiries in Auvergne made on behalf of Alphonse of Poitiers in 1266 and 1267. Written evidence refers to three sons and a daughter of his. His son-in-law was the knight William I of Neyrat and the marriage took place before Stephen's departure to the East. In arranging his succession Stephen mentioned her beside his two brothers Hugh and Renaud, as he declared "his wish to go overseas".[12]

Stephen of Mezel composed the will of about thirty lines personally and had it confirmed in July 1244 by the officials in Clermont. This document together with the will of Giles of Amigny, archbishop of Nicosia, which was exhumed a few years ago, are the most important pieces of evidence available on the provisions of inheritance of a Cypriot bishop from the thirteenth century. Although the origin of Giles of Amigny remains obscure, the case of Stephen of Mezel is much clearer. He appointed his brothers as well as the priest Pierre Durand and the canon Jean Moscho, as executors of his will (the lat-

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9 G. Rouchon, "Notre-Dame de Clermont", *L'Auvergne littéraire, artistique et historique*, LXXIII (1934), 35; M. T. Davis, "Le chœur de la cathédrale de Clermont-Ferrand : le commencement de la construction et l'œuvre de Jean des Champs", *Bulletin historique et scientifique de l'Auvergne*, XCI (1982) 31 ; A. Courtillé, *La cathédrale de Clermont* (Nonette, 1994), 38.

10 J.-B. Fouilhoux, *Fiefs et châteaux forts relevant de la comté d'Auvergne (Capital Vic-le-Comte)* (Clermont-Ferrand, 1926), 528–529; F.-X. Plasse, **"**Notes et documents concernant l'histoire d'Auvergne: Charte de Mezel accordée par Gui de La Tour-du-Pin, ancien Frère Prêcheur, Evêque de Clermont ; juin 1259**"**, *Bulletin scientifique et historique de l'Auvergne* (s.l., 1892): 296–302.

11 A. Courtillé, "Peintures votives et funéraires à la cathédrale de Clermont", *Bulletin historique et scientifique de l'Auvergne* XCVII (1995), 334; R. Favreau and E. R. Labande, *Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale*, XVIII : *Allier, Cantal, Loire, Haute-Loire, Puy-de-Dôme* (Paris, 1995), 166, 271 and 277.

12 M. Boudet, "Les États d'Issoire en 1355 et leurs commissaires royaux", *Annales du Midi* XII (1900): 38–39; P.-F. Fournier and P. Guébin, *Enquêtes administratives d'Alphonse de Poitiers : arrêts de son parlement tenu à Toulouse et textes annexes, 1249–1271* (Paris, 1959), 202.

ter would continue to oversee the building operations of the cathedral of Clermont until 1273). The future bishop of Famagusta also mentioned two properties he owned: in Cébazat, north of Clermont, and in Aulnat, seven kilometres to the northeast of the city. He bequeathed to his brother Renaud the Cébazat property, while the property of Aulnat was bequeathed to his sister who had married William of Neyrat. The remaining portion of his property he bequeathed to his elder brother Hugh II of Mezel, who also became his sole legatee or universal heir. It seems most likely that all his possessions were on the right bank of the River Allier, on the strip between Saint-Bonnet-lès-Allier and Dallet.[13]

Stephen of Mezel granted—besides these donations—a series of legacies to diverse pious institutions. Among other things he bequeathed thirty *livres* in coins to the cathedral chapter of Clermont for them to commemorate the anniversary of his death on an annual basis. The Franciscan and Dominican friaries of the city received a separate legacy of fifty *sous*, and he also bequeathed a hundred *sous* for the construction of the cathedral. These donations prove the popularity of the Mendicant orders in Auvergne, as well as the precocity of the architectural plans of Hugh of La Tour du Pin, which began to be realized only in 1248. Stephen of Mezel was not the only Cypriot prelate who financed the project for the construction of Clermont cathedral, if we take into account a disposition by William of Cros, included in his will of 1249. The then bishop of Limassol made provision in his will for a workshop of stonemasons in the Rue des Gras to receive the remaining part of the tithes bequeathed in order to commemorate his death, should his heirs have refused to assign them after two days had passed from the deadline given.[14]

In 1244, Stephen of Mezel had some doubts concerning the size of his fortune and the motives of the executors of his will. He also decided that his relatives should receive their share last, following the liquidation of his inheritance. Furthermore, he threatened the executors with canonical sanctions if they showed neglect in settling his succession. The measures which the officials of Clermont were charged with were not to be influenced in any way by any eventual additions of codicils in the East. The cleric William of Jou-sous-Monjou sealed the will with the seal of the officials immediately after the testator and his brothers. Apparently, the fears of Stephen of Mezel concerning his finances were partly justified. In fact, the obituary of Clermont cathedral records the allocation of only twenty livres to the chapter in order to commemorate the anniversary of his death from 1259 onwards. These details impel us of course to investigate the career of Stephen of Mezel in the East—a career marked by many questions.[15]

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13 *infra* Document, lines 12–13 and 4–9; P.-V. Claverie, "La succession de l'archevêque Gilles de Nicosie (1268-1269)", *Le Moyen Age* CVIII (2002), 333–343; É. Roux, *Épitaphes et inscriptions des principales églises de Clermont-Ferrand d'après les manuscrits de Gaignières* (Clermont-Ferrand, 1904), 54.

14 Document, lines 9–11; A. Courtillé, *La cathédrale de Clermont*, 35; Claverie, "*Apud Ciprum Nicossiam* : notes sur les relations cyprio-auvergnates au XIII^{e} siècle", 56 and n° 2, 71.

15 Document, lines 11–30; Clermont-Ferrand, Archives départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, 3G suppl. 15 (reg.), fol. 255 v°. However, the state of the manuscript makes the evaluation of the legacy of the prelate more difficult.

The Inconspicuous Bishop of Famagusta (1246–1259)

The errors and doubts concerning the episcopate of Stephen of Mezel, which began with the disappearance or translation of Bishop George of Famagusta in the year 1246, have been largely dispelled. The departure of our canon of Clermont to the East has already been connected with the seventh Crusade by the scholar Marcellin Boudet in one of his studies on the fiefdom of Cournon in the thirteenth century. Apparently Raul I of Cournon took up the cross in the crowd following Saint Louis in 1245; but doubts must be expressed concerning the intentions of his neighbour Stephen of Mezel, who decided to make the journey to Cyprus five months before the King of France took the cross in December 1244. Certainly, it would not have been out of place in the spiritual aspect of things if Stephen had conceived plans to undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, a desire shared by the major part of the clergy in that period. But following the occupation of Jerusalem by the Khwarezmians on 23 August 1244, such an undertaking would have remained no more than a pious wish. At the same time, the island of Cyprus would have represented a real land of promise for Stephen, for he was affiliated to or from the same area as the Montaigut family. It is not explicitly known whether his journey was preceded by a formal invitation emanating from Archbishop Eustorge of Nicosia. However, it is certain that the two relatives were closely tied, and Stephen's nephew Hugh III married one of the daughters of Lord Garin of Montaigut, named Alice, a few years later.[16]

The election of Stephen of Mezel as bishop of Famagusta must have happened in the first half of 1246, since a charter of 8 February 1247 presents him as already consecrated (*venerabilis patris, domini Stephani, Famagustani episcopi*). Chronologically, if Bishop George of Famagusta was no longer the bishop there by November or December 1245, the Holy See would not have confirmed the election of his successor before the reopening of communications with the Eastern Mediterranean in the spring of 1246. But by the same argument the interruption of communications with the West from the autumn of 1246 permits the possibility that the election occurred in the last months of 1246. In this case our canon of Clermont would have used the title *electus*, while awaiting the confirmation of his election by Pope Innocent IV.[17]

As the archives of the church of Famagusta have been lost, we have no recourse to any details they may have contained concerning the episcopate of Stephen of Mezel. He is first mentioned as bishop in the abovementioned charter of 8 February 1247, on

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16 M. Boudet, "Cournon et ses chartes de franchise", *Revue d'Auvergne*, XXV (1908): 409–410; *idem*, Les Gayte et les Chauchat" (Continuation), 119–120; J. Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris, 1996), 157. Garin of Montaigut was a nephew of Eustorge of Nicosia, different from the Grand Master of the Knights Hospitaller (1207–1228).

17 Claverie, "*Apud Ciprum Nicossiam* : notes sur les relations cyprio-auvergnates au XIII[e] siècle", n° 1, 70; L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 646–647; N. Coureas and C. Schabel, *The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia* (Nicosia, 1997), n° 37, 126–127 (re-edited).

which occasion he assisted in the disposition of the legacy of the knight Roger Lenormand, implemented by its executor, Archbishop Eustorge of Montaigut, in his palace of Nicosia. The Abbey of Bellapaïs inherited a fragment of the True Cross, with a covering sum of 600 Saracen bezants; in return, the monks were enjoined to commemorate each year the death of the donor in a chapel at Paphos. It was almost a whole year after his election that Pope Innocent IV wrote to Stephen of Mezel commending to him Niccolò of Aldo, a nephew of the Cypriot chancellor, Bonvassalo of Aldo, who wanted to join the "clerical knighthood". A bull issued on 6 February 1248 ordered the bishop to give the first vacant prebend of the church of Famagusta to the young Niccolò, under penalty of the matter being brought before Eustorge of Montaigut.[18]

Stephen of Mezel may have felt a bit forlorn when his compatriot the archbishop died in Egypt in the spring of 1250. The Latin Church of Cyprus entered a period of troubles after the election of his successor, the Pisan Hugh of Fagiano. Archbishop Hugh was subsequently exiled to Italy, a consequence of a dispute with King Henry I, for the privileges granted under this king to the Greek Church had angered the new Latin primate, causing him to impose a sentence of ecclesiastical interdict over the whole island. The situation was no happier on the mainland, where the patriarch of Antioch was forced to retire to the capital of the principality of Antioch and its hinterland castle of Qoçaïr due to the ravagings of the Turks. Pope Innocent IV apparently considered that he had found the solution to this problem when he entrusted the administration, "both the spiritual and the temporary", of the archbishopric of Nicosia to the patriarch of Antioch, Opizzo Fieschi, on 30 March 1254. Stephen of Mezel received a copy of the bull *Adeo Turquemanni et* asking him to receive, to treat and to obey Patriarch Opizzo and any procurators or vicars he might send to Stephen's diocese with good-will and humility.[19]

The nomination of Opizzo Fieschi, however, was not accepted by the Latin clergy of Cyprus, who considered Hugh of Fagiano to be their only legitimate pastor. Hugh benefited from the support of the new pope, Alexander IV, who in his letter of 13 January 1255 exhorted both the Latin and Greek bishops of the island to accept his authority. Stephen of Mezel and his subordinates were ordered to observe any ecclesiastical decisions reached by Hugh of Fagiano on the island of Cyprus. A month later bishop Stephen and the abbot of Bellapaïs were entrusted with the supervision of the reorganization of the estates of the church of Nicosia. Hugh of Fagiano had tried in fact to relieve his episcopal *mensa* from certain unproductive properties.

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18 Coureas and Schabel, *Cartulary*, n° 37, 126–127; Schabel, *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, 373–374 e-33; A. Ferretto, "I Genovesi in Oriente nel carteggio di Innocenzo IV", *Giornale storico e letterario della Liguria*, I (1900): 359–360 (in context of the Aldos of Geneva).

19 L. de Mas Latrie, "Histoire des archevêques latins de Chypre", *Archives de l'Orient latin*, II-A (1884), 233-234 ; N. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195-1312* (Aldershot, 1997), 202 and 291–296; Schabel, *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, 432–433 e-85 and 433–434 e-86.

As agents of the pope, Stephen and the abbot were instructed to sell these properties after making appropriate inquiries and to invest the sums received in the acquisition of new lands. The Holy See was seeking to preserve one way or another the financial solvency of the Church of Nicosia, which possessed only one *mensa*, unlike the Western bishoprics where the bishop and his cathedral chapter possessed separate and distinct *mensae*.[20]

The papacy began a fundamental reform of its policy regarding the conferment of benefices in the spring of 1255, one which also affected the dioceses of Cyprus. During his eleven-year papacy Innocent IV repeatedly conferred expectative graces on Ligurian clerics. These clerics came to replace the Franks and Romans beneficed under Gregory IX (1227–1241) in the chapters of the eastern Mediterranean lands under Latin dominion. The situation became so dire on the level of administration of the Latin Christian dioceses that several cathedral chapters complained of having more than twenty candidates but lacking the revenues to provide for them. There were in fact fewer disposable prebends than the number of collations decided by the pope and the cardinals in order to support the "poor clerics" who were accustomed to spending time in the Curia seeking them. Stephen of Mezel was asked on 5 April 1255 to keep only four candidates out of those who had been accepted as brothers and canons in the Church of Famagusta in response to the demands of the Holy See. This disposition was soon accredited with the rank of a decretal in Cyprus, although the Papacy reserved the right to be involved in certain complex situations regarding the award of benefices.[21]

The political context of the island was quite tense following the death of King Henry I in January 1253 and the cohabitation of his widow with one of the members of the Ibelin family. Queen Plaisance, after having appealed to the Apostolic See for a marital dispensation, decided in 1255 to repudiate Balian of Arsur. Her suitor did not bear the insult lightly and confiscated a number of royal properties in retaliation. Meanwhile, the queen, on realizing that a part of the local nobility supported the cause of her former suitor, appealed to the Pope. On 28 August 1255 Alexander IV entrusted Hugh of Fagiano and Stephen of Mezel on pain of of excommunication with the defence of the interests of Queen Plaisance and her son Hugh, stating that the Church's duty was to protect widows and orphans. The pope urged his commissioners to dissuade the Cypriot nobility and the officials of the kingdom from helping or advising Balian of Ibelin, who was now presuming to act as the bailiff of Prince Hugh II (1252–1267).[22]

The stubbornness of Balian of Ibelin blocked the resolution of the issue for three years, despite the fact that Queen Plaisance had presented a booklet demonstrat-

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20 Schabel, *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, 455 f-and 460–461 f-7 (bull of 9th February 1255).

21 Schabel, *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, 463–466 f-11; Ferretto, "I Genovesi in Oriente nel carteggio di Innocenzo IV", 353–368 (list of bulls).

22 Schabel, *Bullarium Cyprium*, I, 468–470 f-13 et 470–472 f-14.

ing the relationship of her suitor to her late husband. The pope swiftly relieved Stephen of Mezel and Hugh of Fagiano from charge of this matter, entrusting it to the archbishops of Tyre and Caesarea who were less exposed geographically. Finally, it was the cardinal of Palestrina, Stephen Báncsa, who settled the dispute, declaring the marital claims of Balian of Ibelin to be null and void. The pope confirmed this sentence on 27 February 1258, without incriminating Hugh of Fagiano and Stephen of Mezel who had completed their task satisfactorily from a canonical point of view.[23]

An anarchic situation prevailed in the Holy Land in this period, marked by the war of Saint-Sabas, involving a conflict between Genoa and Venice over the possession of a sanctuary in Acre. On 1 May 1259 Queen Plaisance of Cyprus entrusted the seneschal Geoffrey of Sergines with the task of restoring order in Acre, appointing him bailiff of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. This was the moment chosen by a Frankish knight to assassinate Stephen of Mezel on account of a personnel difference. The *Chronique d'Amadi* says that Geoffrey did not hesitate to arrest the murderer in the street of the Pisans of Acre in order to take him into custody. This action appeared particularly brave in the eyes of contemporaries since the Italian communities were accustomed to defend their members most fiercely.[24] Despite this, there is no evidence that the knight Jean Rénia (or Rania), who is mentioned in the Levantine sources, was a Pisan. The Templar of Tyre recounts the story of his flight to the Pisan quarter and his rendition by the inhabitants after the appearance of the royal forces. The most probable hypothesis is that Jean Rénia belonged to a family of Italian origin closely connected to the Frankish nobility, like the Embriaci of Jubail for instance. His request for asylum failed because of Geoffrey of Sergines' determination and his desire to dispense justice in the substitute capital of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.[25]

The obituary of the Clermont cathedral gives the fifth day before the Ides of June, the feast of the Roman martyrs Primus and Felician, as the day of the assassination of Stephen of Mezel, which therefore took place on 9 June 1259. His name did not completely disappear from the theatre of the Latin East, for his nephew Stephen joined the order of the Knights Hospitaller in the 1260s. Historians have hesitated for a long time to prove the connection between the two persons because of the distorted names given by the Frankish chroniclers. According to the *Annales de Terre sainte* the grand commander Stephen of Mezel died on 28 October 1266 while engaged in combat with the Mamluks on the Plain of Acre. The register of *La Canone* preserved the memory

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23 Ibid., 493–496 f-31.

24 "Chronique d'Amadi", in *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, ed. R. de Mas Latrie, 2 vols. (Paris, 1891–1893), I, 204–205; J. Richard, *Le royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1953), 286 (in the context of a mishap that befelled John of Ibelin-Jaffa).

25 R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem (1100–1291)* (Innsbruck, 1898), note 3, 905; "Chronique d'Amadi", 205; L. Minervini, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314)* (Naples, 2000), § 62 (298) 80 and 454 (here Jean Rénia is presented as a French knight).

of his uncle who did not forget his roots in Auvergne after his elevation to the see of Famagusta in the place of his predecessor Hugh of Banson, reporting that "*Ipso die obiit St[ephanus]* de Mezec*, episcopus Fameguste, qui legavit capitulo X[X] libras pro anniversario suo*".[26]

Document

July 1244, [Clermont-Ferrand]

The canon of Clermont Stephen of Mezel makes his last will at the Episcopal tribunal of Clermont, in the presence of his brothers Hugh and Renaud, and in the prospect of his departure to the East.

A. Original on parchment, 29 cm high, 19 cm wide, fragment of a pendent seal "barry of four sable and argent": Clermont-Ferrand, Archives départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, 3 GPS 141 (former 3 G, Armoire 6, Sac B, cote 2).

In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen. Ego, Stephanus *de Mezec*, canonicus II[2] Claromontensis volens [ad] partes transmarinas adire, attendens quod omnium vite terminus est II[3] mors, nolens decedere intestatus, testamentum meum sive ultimam voluntatem meam vel II[4] dispositionem condo et ordino in hunc modum. In primis instituo heredem meum dominum II[5] Hugonem *de Mezec*, fratrem meum, in omnibus bonis his dumtaxat exceptis, que lego Raynardo, II[6] fratri meo, et sorori mee, uxori Guillelmi *de Neyrac* militis, et aliis piis et religiosis locis sicut II[7] in inferioribus continetur. Raynardo, fratri meo, lego ad vitam suam tantum terram meam II[8] de Cebaziaco et quicquid habeo et possideo ibi. Sorori mee, uxori Guillelmi *de Neyrac*, relinquo II[9] terram *de Alnac* et quicquid habeo et possideo ibi ad vitam ipsius ; et, post totum, Ecclesie Claromontensi lego II[10] pro anniversario meo ibidem annuatim faciendo triginta libras monete Claromontensis, edificio ipsius Ecclesie II[11] centum solidos, edificio domus fratrum minorum quinquaginta solidos, edificio domus [fratrum] predicatorum quinquaginta solidos. II[12] Exequtores[27] hujus testamenti seu voluntatis, vel ultime dispositionis mee, facio Johannem Moscho, II[13] canonicum Claromontensem, et P[etrum] Duranti, presbyterum, et Hugonem et Raynardum, fratres meos, milites. II[14] Et rogo eos quod,

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26 Clermont-Ferrand, Archives départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, 3G suppl. 15 (reg.), fol. 255 v°; J. Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre sainte et à Chypre (1100-1310)*, (Paris, 1904), 410; R. Röhricht, " Annales de Terre sainte", *Archives de l'Orient latin*, II-B (1884): 452–453; Chassaing, *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers (ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem) du Velay*, lxi.

27 *Sic mss.*

cum de me humanitus contigerit, quod ipsi hoc meum testamentum sive hanc II[15] meam voluntatem, vel dispositionem, fideliter exequantur ita quod, si in mobilibus non invenerint ad ple-II[16]-num unde hec mea dispositio possit adimpleri et exequi, quod fratres mei predicti et soror II[17] nichil percipiant ; et his in quibus ipsos instituo et eis lego quoadusque de redditibus ipsarum II[18] rerum legata mea integre sint soluta ; dans potestatem ipsis exequtoribus[28] meis quod II[19] ipsi omnes insimul[29], sive unus ex illis vel duo, si omnes vel tres aut duo fuerint negligen-II[20]-tes in exequendo hoc meum testamentum sive hanc meam ultimam voluntatem, vel dispositionem, per II[21] se exequi possit. Et si hoc non valent, jure testamenti volo quod valeant jure codicillorum vel II[22] ratione cujuslibet alterius voluntatis seu dispositionis extreme. Et si non valent secundum leges, volo II[23] quod valeant secundum canonicas sanctiones. Hoc autem testamentum meum, sive ultimam voluntatem meam II[24] vel dispositionem, juraverunt attendere et exequi et perficere et adimplere et contra in aliquo non venire II[25] Hugo et Raynardus, fratres mei, tactis Evangeliis sacrosanctis coram W[illelmo] *de Jou*, clerico gerente II[26] vices magistri P[etri], officialis Claromontensis, qui ad preces meas et fratrum meorum sigillum curie Claromontensis presentibus II[27] apposuit in testimonium hujus rei. Ego vero, W[illelmus] *de Jou*, clericus supradictus, ad preces dicti S[tephani] *de Mezec* et fratrum suorum II[28] presenti carticule apposui sigillum curie Claromontensis in testimonium veritatis. Et ego, ipse S[tephanus] *de Mezec*, sigillum II[29] meum apposui et sigillum Hugonis, fratris mei, feci apponi in testimonium predictorum. Actum anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo II[30] quadragesimo quarto, mense julii.

Translated from the French by Beatrix F. Romhányi

28 *Sic mss.*

29 Followed by the cancelled word '*vel*'.

REFUGEES FROM ACRE IN FAMAGUSTA AROUND 1300

David Jacoby

Some 1,800 notary charters drafted from 1294 to 1310 offer rich, yet partial evidence on the population of Famagusta around 1300.[1] Refugees from the Frankish territories conquered by Mamluk forces in 1291 represented a large proportion of the city's inhabitants at the time, and refugees from Acre were the largest group among them. In 1318 Pope John XXII referred to Famagusta as a poorly inhabited city in the past, which had enjoyed a substantial increase in population following the loss of Acre and the Holy Land.[2] Niccolò de Martoni, who visited Famagusta in 1394, a century after the fall of the last Frankish cities on the mainland, was told that all those who had fled from Acre sailed to Cyprus, and as a result the former residents of the city repre-

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1 Most charters are included in the following publications:
Notai genovesi 31 = *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (3 luglio 1300–3 agosto 1301)*, ed. V. Polonio, Collana storica di fonti e studi diretta da G. Pistarino (henceforth CSFS) 31 (Genoa, 1982).
Notai genovesi 32 = *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (6 luglio–27 ottobre 1301)*, ed. R. Pavoni, CSFS 32 (Genoa, 1982).
Notai genovesi 39 = *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (11 ottobre 1296–23 giugno 1299)*, ed. M. Balard, CSFS 39 (Genoa, 1983).
Notai genovesi 43 = *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro. Lamberto di Sambuceto (1304–1305, 1307), Giovanni de Rocha (1308–1310)*, ed. M. Balard, CSFS 43 (Genoa, 1984). I have added page to document numbers to avoid confusion when citing this volume, since it includes charters from three separate notary registers, each with its own numbering.
Notai genovesi 49 = *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (Gennaio–Agosto 1302)*, ed. R. Pavoni, CSFS 49 (Genoa, 1987).
Actes de Famagouste = Actes de Famagouste du notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto (décembre 1299–septembre 1300), ed. M. Balard, W. Duba and Ch. Schabel (Sources et études de l'histoire de Chypre, LXX) (Nicosia: Centre de Recherche Scientifique, 2012).
A few additional notary documents referring to refugees from Acre are adduced below.

2 *Bullarium Cyprium, vol. III. Lettres papales relatives à Chypre 1316–1378*, ed. Ch. Perrat and J. Richard, with the collaboration of C. Schabel (Nicosia: Centre de Recherche Scientifique, 2012), 49, no. r-72.

sented the majority among Famagusta's population at that time.[3] This is not surprising, since Acre was the most populous Frankish city before 1291 and many of its inhabitants managed to escape to Cyprus.[4] However, not all of them settled in Famagusta. A charter of 1294 drafted in Nicosia mentions two women and a notary from Acre,[5] while in 1295 the Pisan Tomaso Grasso lived in Nicosia.[6] Furthermore, in 1300 a Martinus de Accon resided in Limassol.[7]

Unfortunately, only about one hundred individuals among Famagusta's inhabitants around 1300 can be securely identified as former residents of Acre. Their origin is obvious when they bear the toponymic byname "de Accon", "Acconensis" or "Acconitanus", provided they also mention Famagusta as their place of residence.[8] Yet identification is more complex when individuals abstained from mentioning Acre in their byname, stated an origin from a locality other than Acre, or omitted any reference to their past or actual residence.

Thus, for instance, in January 1294, less than three years after the fall of Acre, Albertino de Plaça identified himself in his will, drafted in Famagusta, as originating from the Venetian parish of Sant'Antonin, situated in the *sestiere* of Castello, without mentioning Acre or his residence in the Cypriot port.[9] It was quite common among Venetians settled overseas in the thirteenth and fourteenth century to state their identity in that way, rather than to mention the place at which they lived outside

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3 L. Le Grand, "Relation du pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni, notaire italien (1394–1395)", *Revue de l'Orient latin* 3 (1895), 631: "omnes illi de Acri qui evaserunt fugierunt ad insulam Cipri (...) et major pars ipsius terre Famaguste facta fuit de dicta gente terre Acri". On refugees from other cities and Western immigrants in Famagusta: D. Jacoby, "The Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the Late Thirteenth Century", *Meletai kai hypomnemata* (Hidryma archiepiskopou Makariou III, Tmema epistenonikon ereunon) 1 (1984), 150–154, 157–158, 160–161, 167–168, 173–174, repr. in D. Jacoby, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (Northampton: Variorum Reprints, 1989), no. VIII.

4 In contrast, only knights and rich people escaped from Tyre: *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314). La caduta degli stati crociati nel racconto di un testimone oculare*, ed. L. Minervini (Napoli: Liguori, 2000), 224, par. 504. The knights presumably settled in Nicosia, site of the royal court. Very few refugees from Tyre appear in the registers of Lamberto de Sambuceto and of other notaries working in Famagusta around 1300.

5 R.-H. Bautier, "Les relations économiques des Occidentaux avec les pays d'Orient au Moyen Age. Points de vue et documents", in *Sociétés et compagnies de commerce en Orient et dans l'Océan indien* (= Actes du Huitième colloque internationale d'histoire maritime, Beyrouth, 1966), ed. M. Mollat (Paris: S. E. V. P. E. N, 1970), 323, repr. in R.-H. Bautier, *Commerce méditerranéen et banquiers italiens au Moyen Age* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 1992), no. IV.

6 *Les Italiens à Byzance*, ed. M. Balard, A. E. Laiou, C. Otten-Froux (Byzantina Sorbonensia 6) (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1987), 173–175, nos. 6–7. Tomaso Grasso is attested as *civis Accon* in 1283: Jacoby, "The Rise of a New Emporium", 157.

7 *Notai genovesi* 31, no. 139. See also below, n. 35.

8 "Acconitanus" is attested only once, in 1299: *Notai genovesi* 39, no. 129.

9 Edited by V. Bertolucci Pizzorusso, "Testamento in francese di un mercanto veneziano (Famagosta, gennaio 1294)", *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* ser. III 18 (1988), 1014–1015; see also 1019–1021.

Venice.[10] However, two documents drafted in Acre in 1284, which will soon be examined, leave no doubt regarding the residence of Albertino de Plaça in the city at that time. Moreover, his will explicitly mentions the house in Acre in which he had lived at the time of the city's fall to the Muslims in May 1291.[11] It does not refer to assets in Venice or pious donations to ecclesiastical institutions in the city, customary among Venetian expatriates. Only the one thousand masses in his memory ordered by Albertino in Venice recall his origin. He requested burial in the church of St Michael, located outside the city walls of Famagusta, and left a small sum to the church. Burial at St Michael was favoured by the refugees from the Frankish mainland.[12] Albertino also ordered one hundred masses in his memory in the church of St Nicholas, the cathedral of Famagusta, the construction of which was not yet completed.[13] We may thus safely assume that Albertino resided in Famagusta at the time of his death.

Two further cases illustrate how confusing references to residence can be. Giorgio de Caxino from Acre identified himself twice around the *same* hour ("circa terciam") on the *same* day, 28 October 1300, first as *habitator* of Venice and later as *habitator* of Famagusta.[14] How do we explain these two contradictory statements, and which of them was correct? Once we consider the custom of Venetian expatriates to mention the parish from which they originated, noted above, it appears that Giorgio or one of his forefathers had first lived in Venice and later in Acre, while he had resettled in Famagusta, most likely in 1291. On the other hand, the name of Gracianus de Accon is recorded in Famagusta without reference to a specific residence in December 1300, but is mentioned as Gracianus de Accon, *burgensis* or inhabitant (*habitator*) of Marseilles two months later, in February 1301.[15] Gracianus could not have established himself in Marseilles and returned to Famagusta within two months in the winter, when trans-Mediterranean sailings were largely interrupted. Conditions at sea would have prevented a two-way voyage in such a short time. Clearly, therefore, Gracianus de Accon

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10 D. Jacoby, "La dimensione demografica e sociale", in *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima, II, L'età del Comune*, ed. G. Cracco and G. Ortalli (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1995), 703; D. Jacoby, "Migrations familiales et stratégies commerciales vénitiennes aux XII^{e} et XIII^{e} siècles", in *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes (X^{e}–XVI^{e} siècles)*, ed. M. Balard and A. Ducellier (Byzantina Sorbonensia 19) (Paris, 2002), 372–373, repr. in D. Jacoby, *Latins, Greeks and Muslims: Encounters in the Eastern Mediterranean, Tenth-Fifteenth Centuries* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), no. III.

11 See above, n. 9. It is unclear why the will was drafted in French, rather than in Latin as customary. On the language, see Pizzorusso, "Testamento in francese", 1031–1032.

12 Ibid., 1033 and n. 45.

13 M. Balard, "Famagouste au début du XIV^{e} siècle", in idem, *Les marchands italiens à Chypre* (Nicosia: Publications de la Centre du Recherche Scientifique, 2007), 107, relies on a charter of 1296 as the earliest testimony to the church's existence. Albertino's will implies that this was already the case in 1294.

14 *Notai genovesi* 31, nos. 70 and 77. This was clearly the same individual. I therefore retract the doubts expressed in Jacoby, "The Rise of a New Emporium", 152.

15 *Notai genovesi* 31, nos. 148, 241.

had escaped from Acre and settled in Marseilles, and was only temporarily on business in Famagusta. This assumption is supported by the loan he granted in February 1300 to a refugee from Acre and his wife, which was to be reimbursed in Marseilles.[16]

Mostly we only know the name of former Acre residents, since many of them are simply listed as witnesses in notary charters. For a number of them we have some information regarding their occupation, assets, business transactions and family relatives in Famagusta or elsewhere. Only rarely do we have evidence for individuals and their relatives both from Acre before 1291 and from Famagusta in the following years. Sometimes only the confrontation of sources bearing on Acre and others referring to Famagusta enable us to identify individuals as refugees. Whatever the case, the evidence is sparse and fragmentary.

At first glance it would seem that all the former residents of Acre living in Famagusta around 1300 had escaped from the city in 1291, in the final weeks or days of Frankish rule. However, various bits of information cast doubts on that assumption. Individual emigration from Acre, primarily by settlers returning to their land of origin in old age or after a prolonged stay in the Levant, was a permanent demographic feature. This was particularly frequent among members of the social élite who had retained property and maintained close relations with their kinsmen in their city of origin, like the Zovene family in Venice.[17] Yet unfavourable political and military developments affecting the Kingdom of Jerusalem accelerated emigration from the 1240s onward. In 1247 Pope Innocent IV referred in a letter to the archbishop of Nicosia and the bishop of Limassol to the assistance provided to refugees from the Kingdom of Jerusalem, both clerics and laymen, without stating their former places of residence.[18] This wave of arrivals in Cyprus was clearly related to the events of 1244, namely the fall of Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Galilee to the Khwarezmians and the heavy defeat of the Frankish army by Egyptian forces at the battle of La Forbie.[19] Although the pope's letter of 1247 was not addressed to the bishop of Famagusta, the events may have prompted some refugees to settle in the city.[20]

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16 *Actes de Famagouste*, no. 73. It is impossible to determine whether Gracianus stayed continuously in Famagusta between February 1300 and February 1301. He may well have travelled to Marseilles and returned to Cyprus within that period.

17 David Jacoby, "L'expansion occidentale dans le Levant: les Vénitiens à Acre dans la seconde moitié du treizième siècle", *Journal of Medieval History* 3 (1977): 238-245, and 244–245 for the Zovene family; repr. in D. Jacoby, *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XII^e au XV^e siècle. Peuples, sociétés, economies* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1979), no. VII; Jacoby, "Migrations familiales", 371–372.

18 *Bullarium Cyprium, I, Papal Letters concerning Cyprus*, ed. C. Schabel (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2010), I, 359–360, no. e-19.

19 On these events see S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951–1954), III, 224–227.

20 His name was Stephanus: G. Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente*, 3 vols. (Verona: Casa editrice Mazziana, 1973-1978), II, 121.

The Mongol offensive of 1259-1260 in Syria and Palestine and the Egyptian reaction to it generated growing fears regarding the chances of survival of Frankish rule over Acre.[21] These fears are reflected by agreements concluded in 1261, which include restrictive clauses referring to the eventuality of Acre's fall.[22] The offensive launched by Sultan Baybars I of Egypt in 1263 against the Franks and his successive conquests of Frankish cities from 1265 onward must have prompted some inhabitants of Acre to seek refuge in safer places. A Western chronicle states that a large number of Italian settlers left Acre in panic during the spring of 1267. Nonetheless, the stated figure of several thousand is clearly overblown.[23] The climate of anxiety prevailing in Acre during the last decade of Frankish rule is illustrated by the decision of the Hospitallers some time before 1283 to transfer an important part of their archive and a precious relic from Acre to Manosque in southern France.[24] The monks of the abbey of St Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, who had left Jerusalem in 1244 at the latest, sold their last possessions in Acre to the Hospitallers in 1289 and departed for Sicily in the following years.[25]

The will of Pietro Vassano further reflects the anxiety prevailing in Acre around that time. This Venetian had amassed a substantial fortune consisting of immovable and movable property in the city's Venetian quarter. After living for several decades in Acre he returned before June 1284 to Venice with his wife and all but one of his children. In his will of 1289 he instructed his son Andrea to sell all the property he owned in Acre within the year following his death. He apparently considered that the situation had worsened to such an extent that it was urgent to liquidate all his assets and to ensure a prompt transfer of his wealth to Venice. Whether under the influence of his father, the result of his own judgment, or both, Andrea apparently decided in 1290 to emigrate, as we may gather from his offer to sell his personal property. It is noteworthy that Pietro

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21 On the situation in these years, yet without reference to emigration, see P. Jackson,"The Crisis in the Holy Land in 1260", *English Historical Review* 95 (1980), 488–492, 499–500, 503–507.

22 Agreement between Florence, bishop of Acre, on the one hand, and the Venetian bailo or state representative in Acre and Giovanni, parish priest of the Venetian church of San Marco in the city, on the other: *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, ed. G. L. Fr. Tafel und G. M. Thomas (Vienna: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1856–1857), III, 31–38, esp. 34; and for the correct date, 19 January 1261, see M. Pozza, "Venezia e il Regno di Gerusalemme dagli Svevi agli Angioini", in *I comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. G. Airaldi and B. Z. Kedar, CSFS 48 (Genova, 1986), 359–360, n. 14; concession of property by John of Ibelin, lord of Beirut, to the Teutonic Order in 1261 is recorded in *Tabulae ordinis theutonici*, ed. E. G. W. Strehlke (Berlin: Apud Weidmannos, 1869), 106–109, esp. 108. Similar clauses regarding Tripoli appear in 1267 and 1286: B. Figliuolo, "Amalfi e il Levante nel Medioevo", in *I Comuni Italiani*, 621.

23 M.-L. Favreau-Lilie, "Durchreisende und Zuwanderer. Zur Rolle der Italiener in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten", in *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als Multikulturelle Gesellschaft. Einwanderer und Minderheiten im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. H. E. Mayer (Munich: Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquium, 1997), 69–70.

24 On this transfer, see A. Luttrell, "The Hospitallers' Early Written Records", in *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. J. France and W.G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), 138–139.

25 D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993-2009), IV, 144–146.

Vassano's pessimistic assessment of the situation in the Levant, ultimately adopted by Andrea, was definitely not shared by the Venetian government. Indeed, it approved the purchase of his property in the summer of 1290.[26] Less than a year later Mamluk forces conquered Acre. Some settlers of lesser means also returned to the West around that time.[27] It is likely, though, that in the last three decades of Frankish rule in Acre some of the city's residents resettled in Famagusta rather than in the West, although we have no direct evidence to that effect. In any event, it is only in 1291 that the Cypriot port witnessed a massive arrival of refugees from Acre.

Among the refugees living in Famagusta after 1291 some belonged to families settled for several generations in Acre. The Brizi, a prominent Venetian family in the city, can be traced there over more than one hundred years. Three siblings, children of Pietro Brizi, managed to escape from Acre in 1291. The brothers settled in Venice and the sister Candelor in Famagusta.[28] Other refugees established themselves in Acre during the last decades of Frankish rule, despite the climate of uncertainty prevailing in the city regarding its continuation. Marco Zovene settled in Acre around 1266, if not earlier, and both his son and grandson were born in the city. He managed to escape from Acre with his grandson in 1291, remained for some years in Famagusta, and returned to Venice in 1308 at the latest.[29] Albertino de Plaça, whose will has already been mentioned, must have settled in Acre between 1277 and 1284.[30] He lived there in a house belonging to the patriarchate of Acre that had been leased by the Venetian Lorenzo Contarini, who in turn had subleased it to Albertino.[31] It is likely that Contarini was a merchant, and, therefore, the house must have been located in the Old City, the hub of trade in Acre, rather than in the suburb of Montmusard. Houses in the densely built-up Old City were expensive in the second half of the thirteenth century.[32] This may explain why Albertino lived in 1291 in a rented house in Acre, rather than one of his own. Being a relatively new immigrant in Acre may also account for the omission of Acre from his name, although the argument is not decisive. Viviano de Ginnebaldo,

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26 D. Jacoby, "New Venetian Evidence on Crusader Acre", in *The Experience of Crusading*, ed. M. Bull, N. Housley, P. Edbury and J. Phillips, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), II, 248–251.

27 M.-L. Favreau-Lilie, "The Military Orders and the Escape of the Christian Population from the Holy Land in 1291", *Journal of Medieval History* 19 (1993): 204, n6.

28 Jacoby, "L'expansion occidentale dans le Levant", 240–242.

29 Ibid., 244–245.

30 For this dating, see below, notes 50 and 52. Another case of immigration in the last decades of Frankish rule was Stefano da Niola, a Venetian citizen who after residing in Constantinople escaped to Negroponte in 1261 and before 1268 settled in Acre: see Jacoby, "Migrations familiales", 370.

31 Incidentally, this further proves that Venice failed in its attempt of 1272 to compel all Venetian citizens to reside in its quarter. On that policy see Jacoby, "L'expansion occidentale dans le Levant", 237.

32 On urban density at that time see D. Jacoby, "Aspects of Everyday Life in Frankish Acre", *Crusades* 4 (2005), 78–79. On the price of some houses in the Old City of Acre: Jacoby, "L'expansion occidentale dans le Levant", 242; Jacoby, "New Venetian Evidence", 247–248; Jacoby, "Migrations familiales", 370.

originally from Siena,[33] apparently arrived in Acre in the 1270s or 1280s.[34] Theodorus de Tripoli de Accon had also been a new immigrant in Acre. His two toponymic bynames referred to consecutive residence in *two* Frankish cities. He presumably abandoned Tripoli or escaped before the city's fall to the Mamluk forces in 1289, lived for a short time in Acre and fled to Cyprus in 1291. Ten years later he resided in Nicosia; yet other refugees with a similar history of consecutive residences, including Acre, may have established themselves in Famagusta.[35]

Not all those identifying themselves as being from Acre arrived directly from the city to the Cypriot port. In 1258 the so-called war of St Sabas came to an end with the victory of Venice and Pisa over Genoa. All the Genoese settlers in Acre were compelled to leave the city and most if not all of them settled in Tyre. The Genoese did not resettle in Acre in the following years, although they continued to trade there in the last decades of Frankish rule.[36] It follows that most Genoese bearing a byname referring to Acre were presumably the descendants of those who had left the city in 1258.[37] Others may have obtained Genoese status *after* settling in Famagusta. It is impossible to determine whether the Genoese Mateus de Accon, Cosmo de Accon, *censsarius* (sic), Antonio de Accon, son of Pietro Casal de Accon, or Paschale de Accon, son of Petrus Pelleterius, belonged to the first or to the second group.[38] I shall return below to naturalization, an important issue regarding Famagusta's population.

The inhabitants of Acre who fled in panic during the city's siege in 1291 suffered heavy losses. Even those who had salvaged some assets faced the high costs of food and lodgings in Cyprus, which had sharply risen as a result of increased demand. Many refugees arrived destitute, and the kingdom required massive aid to feed and sustain them.[39] The will of Albertino de Plaça, already mentioned earlier, reflects the abrupt interruption of economic life in Acre and the hasty flight of its inhabitants. Albertino had failed to pay the last installment of the rent owed for the house in which he had lived in Acre. On his deathbed he ordered his son Marco to pay the rental fee to the Latin patriarch or bishop of Acre in Venice, if requested, although he had leased the house from Lorenzo Contarini. It is likely that the latter had died in Acre in 1291.

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33 *Notai genovesi* 39, no. 119: Viviano de Ginnebaldo de Senis.

34 Viviano's niece married in Famagusta in 1301: see below, n. 67. He must therefore have been more than 40 years old at that time, and more than 20 years in 1280.

35 Theodorus appears with two toponymic bynames in three charters, which suggests that he insisted on mentioning his consecutive residence in two cities: *Notai genovesi* 32, no. 127; *Notai genovesi* 49, nos. 15 and 20, in the latter case as Theodorus de Tripeler (sic) de Accon.

36 Jacoby, "L'expansion occidentale dans le Levant", 227–228.

37 Jacoby, "The Rise of a New Emporium", 160–161.

38 *Actes de Famagouste*, no. 216; *Notai genovesi* 31, nos. 64, 208; *Notai genovesi* 43, 153–154, no. 84.

39 Favreau-Lilie, "The Military Orders", 218–219, 223, 225–227.

The interruption of economic life in Acre in May 1291 and its consequences are reflected in yet another way. Less than five months after escaping from Acre, Albertino was in Venice. He offered his creditor Marino Staniaro a sum inferior to the one he had obtained from him in loan about a year earlier, while in Venice on 31 July 1290, claiming to have lost most of his wealth in Acre. As recorded by the notary who drafted Albertino's declaration, "the land of Acre, in which he had been, was captured by the Saracens, as is known to the whole world, [and] there he lost the remainder of his assets" ("terra Accon, in qua ipse erat, capta fuit a Sarracenis, sic est notum toti mundo, ubi ipse amisit residuum bonorum suorum").[40] Since Albertino lived in Acre in a rented house, his wealth there consisted entirely of liquid assets and marketable goods. He had obviously managed to save some of the assets, which enabled him to reimburse a portion of the loan. On the other hand, while he had lived in a rented house in Acre, in 1294, merely three years after fleeing from Acre, he owned *two* contiguous houses in Famagusta, one of them at least having an upper floor. Either he was an exceptionally successful businessman or, more likely, he had used the fall of Acre as a pretext to escape full reimbursement of the loan.

Another refugee from Acre, Giovanni David, owned in 1300 a one-deck ship.[41] He was undoubtedly a relative of the Pisan Paulo David, whose possessions in Acre included several houses and who had died there in 1290 or somewhat earlier.[42] In 1300 Bonino Grasso from Acre granted a loan of 1,000 white bezants to a Pisan, obviously only a portion of his liquid capital. The following year he received a loan of 2,500 white bezants from Tomaso Coffino, a refugee from Acre.[43] In the same year the Pisan Tomaso Grasso invested in a *commenda* venture cotton and sugar valued at 2,540 Saracen gold bezants, the equivalent of 8,750 white bezants of Cyprus.[44] These cases raise a fundamental question: how within a decade following the fall of Acre did Albertino de Plaça and other refugees from Acre manage to finance large business ventures and acquire marketable goods, ships, and immovable property in Famagusta?

Many inhabitants fled Acre from 4 to 14 May 1291, while the city was under siege. The cramped conditions on board the ships evacuating the city's inhabitants clearly prevented the loading of much luggage or goods, yet cash, bullion and other

40 Pizzorusso, "Testamento in francese", 1019.

41 *Notai genovesi* 31, no 15; the ship is described as "lignum". The value of such vessel varied widely. One third of a lignum was sold for 350 white bezants of Cyprus, two thirds of another for 351 bezants: *Notai genovesi* 31, nos. 137, 239.

42 *Notai genovesi* 31, no. 15; Jacoby, "The Rise of a New Emporium", 156–157.

43 *Notai genovesi* 31, nos. 102, 341. Tomaso Coffino, whose father Giorgio is attested in Acre in 1279, acted as Pisan consul in Famagusta in 1301 and emitted then a verdict in a case opposing two inhabitants or former inhabitants of Siena: *Notai genovesi* 31, no. 254; see also Jacoby, "The Rise of a New Emporium", 179, addendum to n. 58.

44 *Notai genovesi* 31, no. 323. The rate of exchange 1: 3.5 stated in that charter is frequently attested around 1300.

light-weight valuables such as jewels and gems could be taken along.[45] Valuables were useful on board the ships, since some of their captains considered that the rescue of Acre's inhabitants was a highly profitable source of revenue, rather than a charitable act. Roger de Flor, a former Templar who operated a very large vessel, was among those who took full advantage of the circumstances and collected hefty transportation fees from the passengers.[46] Still, after arriving in Famagusta the refugees could use their remaining assets to renew their economic activity.

There were also refugees who, while settled earlier in Acre, had retained some assets in the locality from which they originated.[47] After 1291 these could provide resources for investments. In addition, salaries in return for services and shares in profit deriving from successful partnerships yielded revenue and enabled the accumulation of wealth within a few years. Bellucus de Belluchis de Accon, Pisanus, acted as *socius tractans* or operator in a *commenda* venture in return for a quarter of the profit.[48] Craftsmen such as tailors, furriers and blacksmiths needed little capital to renew their activity in Cyprus. In 1301 two blacksmiths, Domenico from Acre and Giorgio from Gibelet, a Genoese, decided to conduct a joint enterprise for four months. The former invested 100 white bezants in cash while the latter contributed his labour, each paying half the rent of the workshop and lodgings. Profit was to be divided at the rate of three versus one quarter respectively.[49]

Albertino de Plaça is one of the few refugees documented both in Acre before 1291 and in Famagusta after the dramatic events of that year. In Acre on 28 March 1284 he transferred to Pietro Vendelin, acting on behalf of the latter's brother Leonardo, both residents of Venice, the sum of 32 bezants recovered from Marco Vendelin, presumably a relative of the former living at Acre.[50] Albertino was thus in contact with merchants investing in trans-Mediterranean trade. Moreover, he personally participated in that trade. Indeed, about a week later, on 5 April 1284, he concluded an agreement with the Greek Vassili Cassellario, a casket and chest maker, as revealed by his byname, who resided in Tripoli. Vassili ordered from Venice 1,000 pairs of thick wooden soles for clogs, half of them for men and half for women. In addition, he ordered a large shipment of planks and manufactured iron items. These included locks and nails for caskets,

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45 *Excidii Aconis Gestorum Collectio. Magister Thadeus civis Neapolitanus, Ystoria de desolatione et conculcatione civitatis Acconensis et tocius Terre Sancte*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Turnhout, 2004), 68–69: the inhabitants took along "thesauros (...) cum mercibus", the latter obviously of small volume and weight; see also Favreau-Lilie, "The Military Orders", 212–215.

46 Ramon Muntaner, chap. 194.

47 E. g., the Zovene family: Jacoby, "L'expansion occidentale dans le Levant", 244–245.

48 *Notai genovesi* 31, no. 323.

49 *Notai genovesi* 31, no 374.

50 Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Santa Maria della Carità, Appendice, b. 2, notary Marino Piçolano from San Stae, referring to the power of attorney drafted in Venice on 22 July 1283 (unpublished). Marco Vendelin also appears as witness in a document of 1284.

as well as hoops, straps and corner pieces for caskets.[51] This rather unusual order from Albertino is not surprising, since Albertino himself appears as chest and casket maker in Venice before his move to Acre.[52] The Greek Vassili obviously trusted Albertino for choosing the appropriate pieces he needed.

There is yet another provision of the contract concluded between Albertino de Plaça and the Greek Vassili Casselario that deserves our attention. The goods Vassili ordered were to be shipped from Venice to Acre, from where the Greek or a middleman on his behalf would transfer them to Tripoli. This provision underlines Acre's major function as the main transit, transshipment and distribution center within the Levantine trading system of the thirteenth century and the role of merchants stationed in Acre in that context.[53] Albertino also concluded *commenda* contracts in Venice, as in 1290, which enabled him to obtain additional capital and to engage in business ventures on the return voyage to Famagusta he made sometime before January 1294, the date of his will.[54]

As noted earlier, Albertino de Plaça had ordered his son Marco to pay in Venice the fee owed for the house he had rented in Acre, if requested, because he envisaged that Marco would be trading in Venice. Indeed, one year after his father's death, in January 1295, Marco was in Venice, acting as executor of the will of a Venetian merchant who had died in Cyprus. In July 1299 and December 1300 he was again in Venice, the second time with his younger brother Çanin.[55] He appears to have taken advantage of the business connections his father had established.

While Albertino de Plaça and his son Marco focused on trading between Acre and later Famagusta on the one hand and Venice on the other, Viviano de Ginnebaldo conducted operations of a different nature and range. Viviano is only documented in Famagusta, to which he presumably fled in 1291, yet his activities there appear to reflect the orientation of his earlier business ventures in Acre, where he must have settled in the 1270s or 1280s.[56] Viviano's fluency in Arabic is attested in 1301, when he served in Famagusta as interpreter in a transaction between representatives of the Florentine banking firm of the Peruzzi and a Syrian camlet weaver unfamiliar with the Florentine

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51 Jacoby, "New Venetian Evidence", 254–256.

52 He appears as Albertino Cassellario in the Venetian parish of San Lio in 1268 and of San Zulian in 1277, but then appears once under that name and once as Albertino de Plaça. The parish of Sant'Antonin was the third documented area of Venice in which he resided before leaving for Acre: Pizzorusso, "Testamento in francese", 1021, n. 19. He must have lived for a few years in that parish, as implied by the way he identified himself later. Since all these documents belong to a small private archive deposited at the convent of Sant'Anna di Castello, they undoubtedly deal with the same individual.

53 D. Jacoby, "Acre-Alexandria: A Major Commercial Axis of the Thirteenth Century", in *"Come l'orco della fabia". Studi per Franco Cardini*, ed. M. Montesano (Florence: SISMEL/Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2010), 151–167.

54 See above, notes 9 and 40.

55 Pizzorusso, "Testamento in francese", 1021.

56 See above, n. 34.

dialect.[57] Viviano may have learned Arabic in Famagusta, where it was widely spoken by oriental Christians, who formed a sizeable group among the refugees from the mainland who had settled in the city.[58] It seems more likely, though, that he had already mastered it to some extent in Acre,[59] and that his knowledge of the language was furthered by a particular activity involving repeated visits in Alexandria. Some time between 1291 and 1300 Viviano was accused of shipping to Egypt "prohibited commodities", an expression for "war materials" such as timber, iron and weapons, despite the papal embargo on such trade, decreed in 1291. As a result he incurred excommunication, which Pope Boniface VIII ordered to be lifted on 20 September 1300 following the intervention of the Pisan Isol or Zolus, an envoy of Ghazan, the Mongol il-khan of Persia.[60] Viviano had obviously met Isol, who was in Cyprus in 1300-1301.[61] Isol had sent the Florentine Guiscardo Bustari to the papal court on behalf of Ghazan.[62] Viviano took advantage of that Mongol mission to offer his participation in future expeditions against the Muslims in order to obtain absolution from Pope Boniface VIII.[63]

There is good reason to believe that Viviano had already shipped war materials to Egypt before 1291, when he was still residing in Acre. The delivery of these commodities both by western merchants and by Franks stationed in the Levant is amply documented in the last decades of the thirteenth century. Acre and Tyre fulfilled important functions as transit stations in that context.[64] Viviano apparently took advantage of his experience to pursue the trade in war materials after settling in Famagusta. This trade had become even more lucrative than before 1291, because of the papal embargo that hampered it. Egypt's eagerness to obtain timber, iron, pitch and arms is reflected by the large concessions Sultan Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad granted Venice in 1302. These con-

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57 *Notai genovesi* 31, no. 262. As a former Sienese Viviano was obviously well acquainted with the Florentine dialect.

58 Jacoby, "The Rise of a New Emporium", 151

59 On Arabic-speaking oriental Christians in Acre and the knowledge of Arabic among Franks: D. Jacoby, "Intercultural Encounters in a Conquered Land: The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries", in *Europa im Geflecht der Welt. Mittelalterliche Migrationen in globalen Bezügen*, ed. M. Borgolte, J. Dücker, M. Müllenburg, P. Predatsch and B. Schneidmüller (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012), 135–136, 146.

60 *Notai genovesi* 32, no. 13; J. Richard, "Isol le Pisan : un aventurier franc gouverneur d'une province mongole ?", *Central Asiatic Journal* 14 (1970), 186-191, repr. in idem, *Orient et Occident au Moyen Age: contacts et relations (XIIe–XVe s.)* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1976), no. XXX.

61 *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro*, 300–302, pars. 379, 384.

62 According to *Notai genovesi* 31, no. 381, of May 1301.

63 See above, n. 60. See also Richard, "Isol le Pisan", 186-191; Jacoby, " The Rise of a New Emporium", 175–176.

64 D. Jacoby, "The Supply of War Materials to Egypt in the Crusader Period", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001), 114-132, repr. in D. Jacoby, *Commercial Exchange across the Mediterranean: Byzantium, the Crusader Levant, Egypt and Italy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), no. II; D. Jacoby, "Le consulat vénitien d'Alexandrie d'après un document inédit de 1284", in *Chemins d'outre-mer. Études sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, ed. D. Coulon, C. Otten-Froux, P. Pagès and D. Valérian, 2 vols. (Byzantina Sorbonensia, 20) (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2004), II, 466–467.

cessions included permission to Venetian merchants to invest the proceeds from the sale of "prohibited" goods imported to Egypt in commodities of their choice and export them free of taxes.[65] One may wonder whether this was a new regulation or merely the confirmation of a practice applied to all those importing war materials. In any event, it appears that Viviano had grown rich and had raised his social standing in Famagusta.[66] In 1302 he granted 2,000 white bezants as dowry of his niece Agnese when she married Giacomo de Groppo, a former Genoese consul or rector in Famagusta who had established himself in the city.[67]

Viviano's activity as moneychanger,[68] as well as his occasional role as an interpreter acquainted him with merchants and bankers. It also enabled him to act as a middleman between oriental Christians and Latins eager to invest in the Levant trade. Viviano's function as moneychanger also furthered his own involvement in these trading ventures. A *commenda* contract in 1296 for Apulia and Ancona was presumably related to the purchase of grain intended for Cilician Armenia.[69] Viviano invested 1,500 white bezants in another *commenda* contract for trade in Cilician Armenia in 1301.[70] In 1301 he again handled grain, together with cotton from that region.[71] Jointly with a partner he entrusted in the same year ten sacks of cotton weighing 6 cantars and 60 *rotoli* of Cyprus, valued at 1,453 white bezants, to Giacomo de Groppo, his niece's future husband, in a *commenda* venture mainly directed toward Genoa.[72] Once more with a partner he engaged in a *commenda* venture involving 4 cantars and 9 *rotoli* of pepper to be sold in Venice.[73] In 1302 he acted as middleman, interpreter and guarantor in a sale of woolens by a group of Genoese merchants to oriental Christian merchants, two of whom resided in Famagusta and a third one possibly in Sidon, Lebanon. The three notary charters recording this transaction refer to Viviano as a *cambitor* or *campssor* (sic).[74]

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65 These concessions are recorded in two documents preserved in Latin translation only: *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, ed. G. M. Thomas and R. Predelli, 2 vols. (Venice, 1880–1899), I, 5–9, no. 4.

66 The pope's reference to "pauperes Christianos" involved in illegal trade with Egypt who were to be absolved of excommunication (*Notai genovesi* 32, no. 13) should not be taken literally. It applied to their spiritual rather than to their material state.

67 *Notai genovesi* 32, nos. 35-6; Giacomo as consul or rector in 1299: *Notai genovesi* 39, nos. 95, 99, 101-102, 105, 124; as resident of Famagusta in 1301: *Notai genovesi* 32, no. 97.

68 Various transactions were concluded "ad bancum Viviani de Ginnebaldo", Viviano's exchange office located in his residence: *Actes de Famagouste*, nos. 58, 245; *Notai genovesi* 31, nos. 178, 262, 263, 373.

69 *Notai genovesi* 39, no. 8.

70 0 *Notai genovesi* 32, no. 85.

71 *Notai genovesi* 31, no. 387; sale of cotton to Genoese merchants for 2,200 white bezants in 1302: *Notai genovesi* 49, no. 239..

72 *Notai genovesi* 32, no. 97.

73 *Notai genovesi* 49, no. 21.

74 *Notai genovesi* 49, nos. 276-278; Viviano acting as middleman and representative of the Pisan chancellor in a cotton transaction: *Notai genovesi* 39, no. 109

While Albertino de Plaça and his son focused on exchanges between Cyprus and Italy, as noted above, Viviano de Ginnebaldo mainly acted as intermediary between the Levant, especially Cilician Armenia, and the West. His commercial activities were fully integrated within the function of Famagusta as transit station between these regions. Around 1300 the grain exported from Cyprus, either produced in the island or imported from Apulia, was overwhelmingly directed toward Cilician Armenia.[75] This region produced one of the best qualities of cotton on a large scale, as reported by the contemporary Venetian Marino Sanudo and the Florentine Francesco Balducci Pegolotti around 1340.[76] It was exported mainly from Ayas, as well as via Famagusta to various destinations in the West.[77]

There were numerous Venetian nationals among the refugees from Acre established in Famagusta. Some Venetian citizens among them proceeded to Venice after staying a few years in Cyprus, yet most of them remained in the island. Such a split occurred in the Brizi family. As noted earlier, two brothers settled in Venice, while the sister Candelor, widow of Marco de Castello, resided in Famagusta.[78] From Venice the brothers Brizi conducted trade with Cyprus. In June 1300 Candelor empowered her brother Michele Brizi to obtain assets from her second brother Filippo, apparently her share of an inheritance. In October of the same year she again empowered her brother Michele Brizi as well as Giovanni de Castello, apparently the brother of her deceased husband Marco de Castello, to obtain these assets.[79] Various Venetian families adopted the dispersion of their members across the Mediterranean as a business strategy to promote their commercial activity and extend its geographic range.[80]

Solidarity extended beyond family bonds, as attested by numerous notary charters drafted in Famagusta. Not surprisingly, the refugees tended to congregate, especially with those sharing their "national" identity, as illustrated by the Venetian

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75 Sandra Origone, "Il commercio del grano a Cipro (1299–1301)", in *Miscellanea di studi storici, II*, CSFS 38 (Genoa, 1983), 149–162. A charter referring to wheat sold by Tomaso Coffino mentions measures and payment in currency used in the kingdom of Cilician Armenia: *Actes de Famagouste*, no. 71. The purchase of the wheat had apparently taken place in Cilician Armenia and it is unlikely that wheat was exported from there at that time.

76 Marinus Sanutus, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis super Terrae Sanctae recuperatione et conservatione*, in *Gesta Dei per francos, sive orientalium expeditionum et regni Francorum Hierosolomitani historia*, ed. J. Bongars (Hanover: typis Wechelianis, apud heredes I. Aubrii, 1611), 33; Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 366–367.

77 Origone, "Il commercio del grano", 151–152. J.- K. Nam, *Le commerce du coton en Méditerranée à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007), 136–140, has failed to take advantage of the extensive evidence regarding the cotton trade included in the notary registers examined in this paper.

78 See above, n. 28. Jacoby, "L'expansion occidentale dans le Levant", 240–242.

79 *Actes de Famagouste*, no. 131; *Notai genovesi* 31, nos. 43-45: her brother in law and Pietro Marbere, also from Acre served as witnesses. On these Venetians, see Jacoby, "L'expansion occidentale dans le Levant", 243, 244.

80 Jacoby, "The Rise of a New Emporium", 167–168. Jacoby, "Migrations familiales", 363–373, for the thirteenth century.

refugees. They were linked by a common past and a common traumatic experience, the collapse of their orderly life in Acre. A closely-knit web of business and personal relations, expressed in joint economic enterprises, assistance as witnesses to contracts, legal representation, the function of will executors, and intermarriage consolidated the bond between some of them.

Yet the refugees also integrated within broader social networks. Thus, for instance, upon arrival in Famagusta former Florentines or former residents of Messina encountered individuals of similar extraction already settled in Cyprus or temporarily in the island. The national Genoese, Venetian and Pisan communities were more structured and their composition more complex. These were communities benefiting from a particular legal status, granted by the Cypriot kings and, as a result, they constituted distinctive social bodies defined by their collective legal identity, the Genoese community from 1232,[81] the Venetian from around the mid-thirteenth century, [82] and the Pisan from 1291.[83] The members of these communities enjoyed commercial and fiscal privileges in Cyprus, as well as legal protection by the authorities of their own nation. Foreigners sought inclusion within these privileged communities. Venice, Genoa and Pisa had already practiced the selective naturalization of foreigners, whether Latins, oriental Christians or Jews, in the Kingdom of Jerusalem from the mid-thirteenth century onwards, and naturalized foreigners were included among the refugees from Acre who arrived in Famagusta.[84] The three maritime powers pursued the policy of naturalization in Cyprus, despite the opposition of the Cypriot authorities, which contested time and again the national identity of naturalized individuals.[85] Increasing the number of their nationals provided the three Italian nations more political clout in Cyprus, enhanced their revenue from internal taxation, and contributed to the consolidation of a supply network operating to the benefit of their own local community, travelling merchants

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81 *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova, I/2* (Fonti per la storia della Liguria, IV; Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, Fonti XXIII), ed. D. Puncuh (Genoa: Società Ligure di Storia Patria, 1996), 179–183, no. 351.

82 Jacoby, "The Rise of a New Emporium", 165–167; D. Jacoby, "The Venetians in Byzantine and Lusignan Cyprus: Trade, Settlement, and Politics", in La Serenissima *and* la Nobilissima: *Venice in Cyprus and Cyprus in Venice*, ed. A. Nicolaou-Konnari (Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, 2009), 63–64.

83 *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll'Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi fino all'anno MDXXXI*, ed. G. Müller (Florence: M. Cellini, 1879), 108–109.

84 For Venice, see Jacoby, "L'expansion occidentale dans le Levant", 245-247; for Genoa: Jacoby, "The Rise of a New Emporium", 160; for Pisa: ibid., 155–158. Tuscans enjoyed Pisan status in the eastern Mediterranean and, therefore, were subject to the jurisdiction of Pisan officials: see above, n. 43, the case involving two Sienese and submitted to the Pisan consul in Famagusta.

85 For the period covered here, see D. Jacoby, "Citoyens, sujets et protégés de Venise et de Gênes en Chypre du XII^{e} au XV^{e} siècle", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 5 (1977), 159–172, 180–181, repr. in Jacoby, *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale* no. VI; see also previous note. A decree published by the authorities in Venice, recorded in Famagusta in November 1300, distinguished between "Venetus" and "Veneticus", obviously between citizens on the one hand, and colonial subjects and naturalized Venetians on the other: *Notai genovesi* 31, no. 147. However, "Veneticus" was also used for citizens.

and passing ships.[86] Naturalization was a legal device, which to some extent promoted social rapprochement between citizens and naturalized foreigners within each national community. However, it generated only limited social integration with respect to non-Latin aliens, because of differences in religious affiliation, language and culture.

86 On these general considerations, also valid elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean, see Jacoby, "La dimensione demografica e sociale", 703–704.

APPRENTICE ARTISANS AND CRAFTSMEN IN FAMAGUSTA IN THE NOTARIAL DEEDS OF LAMBERTO DI SAMBUCETO AND GIOVANNI DA ROCHA, 1296–1310

Nicholas Coureas

The extant deeds of the above Genoese notaries who were active in Famagusta in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century number nearly 2000 and contain a wealth of information on the commercial transactions engaged in by mainly Latin merchants, either resident in Famagusta or simply with commercial interests there. They also constitute a valuable record, albeit to a lesser extent, on the Latin artisans and craftsmen resident and working in the city, recording their ethnic origins, the commercial transactions they engaged in and aspects of their personal life such as wills, marriage contracts and their appointment of procurators to recover sums of money. In many instances such craftsmen are mentioned simply as witnesses to loan or other transactions between merchants, in which cases only their craft and in some instances their place of origin is mentioned. It should be emphasized that these various activities artisans and craftsmen in Famagusta engaged in, other than practising their own craft, were true of Latin artisans in all the mercantile emporia Venetian, Genoese and other Latin merchants established throughout the Mediterranean and the Black Sea basins.[1] Furthermore, since the notarial deeds recording this information were drawn up in Latin by two Genoese notaries, their information is biased inasmuch as Genoese merchants and craftsmen are overrepresented while those of other western trading nations are underrepresented. Greek and Syrian Christians are even more underrepresented in these deeds. Notwithstanding the above caveats, however, much valuable information on artisans and craftsmen is to be found in these deeds. In this paper the focus will be on those deeds recording contracts of apprenticeship, which offer precious information on the terms and conditions of employment for young craftsmen and artisans in Famagusta learning their craft.

As the major port of the Lusignan kingdom of Cyprus, Famagusta afforded employment to sailors, and an apprenticeship contract of 20 March 1300 recounts how the Genoese Polinus entrusted for a period of nine years his brother Maffar to Thom-

[1] E. Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 408–409.

asinus Richaldellus, described as a resident and burgess of Famagusta, so that he might learn the sailor's craft from him. Polinus promised Thomasinus that Maffar would stay for the full nine years with him, looking after everything in his possession and performing all the services he could both within and outside the house so long as Thomasinus provided him with food and clothing both in sickness and in health to the best of his ability, something that Thomasinus for his part personally undertook to do. If either party defaulted on its respective obligations a penalty of 100 white bezants was payable. The contract was concluded in a shop near the Genoese loggia in Famagusta before three Genoese witnesses, of whom two, Obertus and Paschalis, were themselves spinners. The latter has a Greek name, implying that he was probably a "White Genoese" namely a Greek or Syrian Christian who was a subject of Genoa and so entitled to Genoese protection, a legal status similar to that enjoyed, *mutatis mutandis*, by "White Venetians".[2]

Another craft in demand on board ship was that of the master of *adze*s, an *adze* being an axe-like tool with an arched blade set at a right angle to the tool's shaft. It was used for smoothing or carving rough-cut wood in hand woodworking.[3] A notarial deed dated 12 February 1301 records how James de Finali de Carexi formally promised Baxino Beltramis, a master of *adze*s from Fonte Maroso in Genoa, to remain in his employment for the next five years, starting from the coming March, given that the Genoese calendar began on 25 March. He would do so in order to learn both the technique of using *adze*s and any other art which he knew how to impart, to care for whatever goods belonging to Baxino came into his possession "in good faith and without fraud" and to serve him as best he could both in the home and on the high seas, without leaving his service until the agreed term of five years had been completed. For his part Baxino would provide him with food, clothing and shoes to the best of his ability, in sickness and in health, throughout the period of apprenticeship, would teach him his art well until the end of the five-year term and would not impose additional tasks or do him injury during the period in question. If either party defaulted on its obligations, a fine of twenty-five Genoese pounds was payable. Besides, James promised Baxino to pay him the sum of one Genoese *solidus* and six *denarii* for every day that he was absent from work, unless this were to occur with Baxino's express consent. He also affirmed that he was over twenty years of age. The contract was concluded in front of the Genoese loggia in Famagusta and all four witnesses summoned were Genoese.[4]

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2 *Actes de Famagouste du notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto (décembre 1299–septembre 1300)*, ed. M. Balard, W. Duba and C. Schabel (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2012), no. 88; M. Balard, "Les orientaux en Chypre au début du XIV^{e} siècle", in idem, *Les marchands italiens à Chypre* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2007), X, 196–97.

3 *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 20. I thank Prof. David Jacoby for further clarifying and correcting the description of adzes given here as well as for his suggestions on other points in this article.

4 *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (3 luglio 1300–3 agosto 1301)*, ed. V. Polonio, Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi (henceforth CSFS) 31 (Genoa, 1982), no. 218.

Trained masters of *adze*s were in demand, as is attested by a contract of employment dated 27 January 1301. It states that John of Messina in Sicily, having received the sum of eighty white bezants, undertook before Peter Roveto of Voltri, acting on his own account and that of his associates, owners of the ship named the *St Anthony*, moored in the port of Famagusta, promised to work faithfully and without fraud on board this ship as a master of *adze*s for the next three months. If he failed to do so he would not only return the sum received but would pay an additional penalty of double this sum to either Peter, the owners of the ship or their accredited representative. In addition, a certain bootmaker named Georginus, whose father Simon had practised the same craft, interceded on John's behalf with Peter, promising the latter to guarantee John's services with his person and goods. Like many other transactions taking place in Famagusta during the period under discussion, this one was concluded by the spice shop of a certain Berthozius Latinus, the two witnesses summoned being Nicholas de Parte of Ancona and the Pisan Luparellus.[5] Looking at this craft in a wider context one can observe that masters of *adze*s were in demand precisely because skills in carpentry were important, and at times vital, to the smooth functioning of a ship on the high seas. Skilled men on board ship, including carpenters, were paid "moche more than the ordinary mariner" as someone commented apropos of the English merchant navy and its crews in 1578. The more capable and enterprising seamen could augment their earnings by working as part-time carpenters. The care a professional carpenter on board ship showed in supervising its maintenance and his skill in performing urgent repairs could determine the outcome of a seagoing venture and the very lives of the men on board.[6]

Caulkers of ships were likewise in demand in the port city of Famagusta. A notarial deed of 10 March 1301 records how the Genoese Giovannino de Santo Antonio formally promised his fellow Genoese Raffus Mazarase of Porta dei Vacca to serve him for the next six years so as to learn the caulker's art and to work for him in both this art and in other capacities, both within and outside the house, that might be assigned to him. As in previous contracts, he also promised to look after his goods well, in good faith and without committing fraud. Raffus for his part undertook to provide him to the best of his ability and throughout the term of apprenticeship, in sickness and in health, food, clothing and shoes, but he also promised him something not found in the preceding contracts of apprenticeship, namely to provide him with "those iron tools in accordance with what masters grant their apprentices at the end of their apprenticeship and in return for what the apprentices have done". He undertook not to impose additional tasks on him or injure him and should either party default on its obligations a penalty of ten Genoese pounds was payable. The four persons witness-

5 CSFS 31, no. 204.

6 G. V. Scammell, "Manning the English Merchant Service in the Sixteenth Century", in *Ships, Oceans and Empire* (Aldershot: Ashgagte Publishing, 1995), II, 142–43 and 151.

ing this transaction, concluded next to a shop, were all close advisers and associates of Giovannino.[7]

A second contract of apprenticeship to a caulker dated 22 July 1302 stating how Peter Rasinus of Savona came to an agreement with the caulker Obertino Basinus of Pre, whereby the latter undertook to hire Peter's brother Nicolinus, has very similar terms to the preceding one as regards the duration of the apprenticeship, the terms and conditions to be adhered to by both parties and monetary penalties in the case of non-compliance. This transaction, concluded in Famagusta in front of the money changers' shop, was witnessed by four persons, one of whom originated from Genoa and another from the nearby town of Savona.[8] A third contract of apprenticeship to a caulker dated 19 February 1307, however, has certain terms which differ from the preceding two contracts discussed. According to its provisions Eleni, who described herself as the former mistress of the late Thomas de Viride of Genoa, entrusted her natural son Jacobinus, the issue of a carnal union she had had with the late Thomas, to Boneto de Viride, a Genoese resident in Famagusta and clearly a relation of the deceased, so that the latter might teach him the art of caulking. This was done with her son's consent, who was to remain with Boneto for a term of eight years, not six as in the previous two contracts. Other than this, the contract is similar to the two preceding ones as regards the terms and conditions of employment applicable to both parties. Should either party default on its obligations, then a penalty of eight Cypriot white bezants was payable, and the transaction was concluded in the house where Boneto was resident. The four witnesses to this deed included a barber, a blacksmith for shoeing horses and a tailor.

Eleni's name indicates that she was in all probability ethnically Greek, in all likelihood a free woman from the Greek population of Cyprus. Nonetheless, it is also possible that she was a former slave from Latin Romania, given that Greek slaves from throughout the Aegean area were imported to Cyprus and sold there in the slave markets of Famagusta and Nicosia. Her relationship with a Genoese who had fathered her son is by no means an isolated phenomenon in the ethnic and cultural melting pot of fourteenth century Famagusta. Such relationships were common throughout the Mediterranean area, given that few Latin women ventured out to the Latin merchant colonies. As a result of this, many Latin merchants as well as others had slave girls originating from Eastern Europe but also Africa as concubines.[9]

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7 CSFS 31, no. 274.

8 *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (gennaio–agosto 1302)*, ed. R. Pavoni, CSFS 49 (Genoa, 1987), no. 274.

9 *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (31 marzo 1304–19 luglio 1305, 4 gennaio–12 luglio 1307) Giovanni de Rocha (3 agosto 1308–14 marzo 1310)*, ed. M. Balard, CSFS 43 (Genoa, 1984), no. 79 (di Sambuceto); Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 408; B. Arbel, "Slave Trade and Slave Labor in Frankish Cyprus (1191–1571)", *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, XIV (1993): 154–57.

The final contract of apprenticeship to be discussed, dated 14 February 1302, states how the cloth shearer for woollen cloths named John de Belgrant, a resident of Famagusta, placed his seventeen-year-old son Robellinus in service with Oberto the Pisan, a draper, as his apprentice for the next three years so that he might learn the art of tailoring from him. Robelinus entered into this apprenticeship of his own free will and undertook to serve the full three years of his apprenticeship, performing services within and outside Oberto's home and guarding honestly and without fraud whatever came into his possession. Obertus for his part promised John to teach his son the art of tailoring and to provide him with food and clothing, in sickness and in health as best he could until the end of the tem of the apprenticeship, without injuring him or imposing on him tasks other than those agreed. Should either party default on its obligations, a penalty of 100 white bezants would be payable. The fact that this penalty is several times greater than that stipulated in the preceding contracts of apprenticeship indicates that drapers and other professions associated with the textile trade were highly profitable. Indeed, it indicates the risk of the apprentice leaving before his term was up after having learnt the trade faster than expected of him.

The export and import of textiles constituted a lucrative aspect of the carrying trade between Western Europe and the Middle Eastern lands during the late Middle Ages. Although clothes as opposed to textiles themselves were not exported, the manufacture of clothes seems also to have been a lucrative profession. The relatively short period of apprenticeship, three years as opposed to nine for sailors, six or eight for caulkers, and five for masters of *adze*s, as seen above, is another indication of this craft's profitability. Practitioners of less profitable crafts insisted on long periods of apprenticeship so as to have what amounted in practice to a source of cheap labour, but in the case of textile trades this was not necessary. The transaction was concluded in the spice shop of Berthozius Latinus, a known venue already mentioned above.[10] One observes that one of the two witnesses was Nicolas de Mar, a member of a prominent Genoese trading family forming part of that Genoese mercantile aristocracy that had also contributed to the commercial expansion of the Genoese trading colonies of Pera opposite Constantinople and Caffa on the Black Sea.[11]

Given that the contracts of apprenticeship discussed above were drafted by two Genoese notaries and that the parties involved often included Genoese, it is worth making some comparisons with corresponding contracts in late medieval Genoa. Stephen Epstein has analysed over 7000 apprentice contracts concluded in Genoa between the years 1451 and 1517. In some ways these do not relate to early fourteenth century Cyprus in general or Famagusta in particular. Just over 200 of them concern maritime trades, for by the mid-fifteenth century Genoa was in economic decline and the once

10 See note 5 above.

11 CSFS 49, no. 93; M. Balard, *La Méditerranée médiévale* (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard, 2006), 148–49.

vibrant ship building industry had contracted greatly. This notwithstanding, there are points in common. Caulkers had an apprenticeship lasting eight years, similar to the third contract on apprentice caulkers from Famagusta discussed above, although the preceding two contracts stipulated an apprenticeship lasting six years, while the single contract of apprenticeship for becoming masters of *adze*s recorded in Cyprus stipulated five years. None of the Genoese contacts of apprenticeship specify a term of less than five years except for drapers, which stipulate a term of four to five years. This indicates that in Genoa, as in Cyprus, the profession of draper was a relatively lucrative one, although no Genoese term of apprenticeship is as short as three years, like the draper's term from early fourteenth century Famagusta.[12]

As Epstein observes, six years was the standard length of apprenticeships in late fifteenth century Genoa, whereas earlier there had been a greater variety in the lengths of apprenticeship. He regards this new development as reflecting a labour shortage, impelling master craftsmen to hold out for long apprenticeship terms so as to secure cheap labour. The five apprenticeship contracts recorded for early fourteenth century Famagusta are too few for the purposes of statistical analysis, unlike the 7000 odd contracts extant for late fifteenth century Genoa involving 242 distinct trades and mentioning 35,000 people, although, as Epstein admits, not all trades used formal apprenticeships and the predominantly male contracts hid the participation of women in the labour force. The few extant Cypriot apprenticeship contracts from Famagusta resemble the Genoese contracts in that they record men and never women as masters and apprentices. In Cyprus, as in Genoa, artisan women formed part of the labour force but in both societies they were never formally employed under the terms of a legally enforceable contract. Instead they received training and obtained employment in an informal fashion, and so would have obtained lower pay than their male counterparts.[13]

In conclusion, it is important to emphasize that the apprenticeship contracts discussed, which concern chiefly crafts practised on board ship, although not exclusively so, do not by any means reflect the variety of artisans and craftsmen to be encountered in early fourteenth century Famagusta, or even the relative importance of certain crafts. The artisans and craftsmen attested in the notarial deeds of Lamberto di Sambuceto and Giovanni de Rocha are divisible into five main groups. The first consists of those engaged in the working and sale of textiles, such as drapers, cutters of cloths, mercers, tailors, spinners, weavers of cloths, camlets and silk, and cloth shearers for woollen cloths. The second consists of those engaged in working metals, animal hides and wood, such as smiths shoeing horses, blacksmiths, cutlers, coopers, carpenters, cobblers, belt makers, and tanners. A third group consisted of those engaged in crafts connected to shipping and the sea such as caulkers, rope and canvas makers, masters of *adze*s, sail-

12 S. Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese 958-1528* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 274–76.
13 Epstein, *Genoa*, 275 and 277.

ors, fishermen, and fish trappers, while a fourth group includes those engaged in the preparation and distribution of food, such as millers, bakers, butchers, water carriers, and curers of bacon. Others difficult to categorize include candle makers, manufacturers of soap, barbers, stone cutters, bath attendants, and key cutters. Their recorded presence in late thirteenth and early fourteenth century Famagusta, no less than that of the merchants whose needs they catered for, constitutes proof of the transformation of the formerly quiet coastal town into one of the busiest commercial emporia of the Mediterranean.

THE MERCENARIES OF GENOESE FAMAGUSTA IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Michel Balard

During their expansion in the Levant, the Genoese acquired permanent factories which they obtained possession of either through grants by the local authorities, or through the actions of the Genoese military and naval forces. The most important ones, Pera, Caffa and Chios, were obtained through grants by the Byzantine basileis and by the Tatar khans, who did not forbid the holders to take strong defence measures and to recruit a garrison to protect the settlements they had gained.

In Famagusta the situation was slightly different. Up until 1372, the little Genoese factory did not need to provide for its own defence, due to the privileges granted by the Lusignan kings. The Genoese forces on Cyprus were sufficient to take the necessary precautions. But in 1373, a Genoese naval expedition, under the command of Pietro Campofregoso, overran Cyprus to avenge the offence suffered by the Genoese community during the coronation feast of Peter II. Victorious in the war that ensued, Genoa compelled the king in 1374 to ratify a treaty which yielded Famagusta to the Genoese as a guarantee for the payment of the Lusignans' debt to the victors. The king was able to reserve his rights over the city, but not in the long run. On his death in 1382 Genoa imposed on his successor, James I, whom the Genoese had been holding in custody in Liguria, the transfer of sovereignty over Famagusta and a territory of two leagues around it to Genoa.[1] Genoa transformed the status of the city to being the only harbour of the island accessible for the import and export trade. This system of monopoly soon drove away the merchants of other nations. Even though Genoa granted them certain licences, Famagusta lost its formerly privileged position of being the "cross-roads

[1] R. Lefèvre, "Le basi giuridiche dell' organizzazione genovese in Cipro (sec. XIII–XIV)", *Rivista di Storia del diritto italiano*, XI (1938): 399–408; J. Richard, "La situation juridique de Famagouste dans le royaume des Lusignan", in *Praktika tou Protou Diethnous Kypriologikou Synedriou*, 3 vols. (Nicosia: Society of Cypriot Studies, 1971–1973), II, 227–28, repr. in idem, *Orient et Occident au Moyen Age : Contacts et Relations (XIIe–XVes.)* (London: Variorum, 1976), XVII ; C. Otten-Froux, "La ville de Famagouste", in J-B. de Vaivre and Ph. Plagnieux, *L'art gothique en Chypre* (Paris: Editions Boccard, 2006), 115–16.

of the Levant and the West", instead becoming simply a Genoese settlement where the rapacity and maladministration of the Genoese officials impelled the native population to desert the city. Threatened within with the unrest of the Greeks and by the Lusignans' desire for retribution, and outside by Mamluk depredations, the Genoese settlement needed a strong defence, based upon fortifications from which a close watch could be kept and a powerful garrison composed of professional soldiers.

The captain-podestà, appointed by the Genoese authorities, would have been able to have recourse to his own fellow citizens settled in Famagusta, a minority among the population of the city. But as they were exclusively merchants, they were reluctant to perform military service, even the nightly watch on the walls. Therefore the authorities were obliged to enlist mercenaries at considerable expense, to supply them with weapons, lodgings and regular pay and to ensure their trustworthiness. In a wider context these mercenaries were part of a phenomenon found throughout Europe from the thirteenth century onwards, namely the increased use of paid soldiers, defined as "professional soldiers whose behaviour is dictated primarily not by the fact that they belong to a political community, but only by their love of gain".[2] This definition, provided by Yves Garland, presupposes the mercenary to have been a specialist, a foreigner and a hireling. This was not the case in Famagusta, because a proportion of the mercenaries were of Ligurian extraction, or craftsmen hired for short term defence.

To try to identify them one must have recourse to the registers of the *Massaria* (Treasury) of Famagusta, the account books of the Genoese colony. Certainly, as one observes from a list of the registers found in 1448 in the house of the Genoese treasurers,[3] the administration maintained account books from 1374 onwards on a continuous basis until the recapture of Famagusta by James II's troops in 1464. Today, unfortunately, 26 registers have been lost out of the 75 written during the Genoese occupation, even though both treasurers appointed by the metropolis were obliged, on leaving office, to bring back a copy of their register, in order to get a discharge from the authorities. The preserved list of the registers demonstrates that the losses occurred due to the damage and losses the Genoese archives underwent during the late 15th and early 16th centuries.[4]

These registers contain lists of the mercenaries, who were paid every two months. Unfortunately, their chronological gaps and their internal disorder due to the faulty reorganization of the archives after the shelling of Genoa by Louis XIV's fleet do not permit one to follow the process of their recruitment continuously year after

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2 Ph. Contamine, *La guerre au Moyen Age* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1980), 205.

3 State Archives of Genoa (ASG), San Giorgio, Famagustae Massaria (FM), n° 590/1277, f. 4v.

4 M. Balard, "La *Massaria* génoise de Famagouste", in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000–1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed. A. D. Beihammer, M. G. Parani and C. D. Schabel (Leiden and Boston, 2008), 234–49.

Figure 1. Roster of the Mercenaries of Famagusta (ASG, Famaguste Massaria 1442, f. 368r)

year. Therefore five registers spread over the period of 1407 to 1461 have been selected. These preserve the accounts of the years 1407–1408, 1437–1439, 1442–1443, 1459–1460 and 1460–1461, and from these we can study the composition of the group of soldiers entrusted with the defence of Famagusta. Each list contains the Christian name and the added name of the mercenary or the name of his craft. Often included were his geographical extraction, details of his active service with the dates of his recruitment and discharge, where he was stationed to carry out his duties (for example a tower or brettice of the city), the amount of his pay and the reasons for his being paid off.

The Excel database allows us to calculate the number of the mercenaries recruited: 592 in 1407, 618 in 1437, 316 in 1442, 636 in 1459–1460 and 487 in 1460–1461, that is to say a sum total of 2649 names. The significant fluctuation in this list is no doubt the consequence of the economic and social situation of the city. The falling-off during the 1440s is due to the financial difficulties of the Genoese government, which had been compelled to surrender the administration of Famagusta to the Banco di San Giorgio following the intervention of representatives of the citizens who came to Genoa to complain of their sufferings. The Banco, which subsequently inherited the administration of the Genoese colonies around the Black Sea as well, endeavoured to place the management of the city on a firm footing and to re-establish a strong defence system. It undertook to spend almost 10,000 Genoese pounds annually so as to satisfy the most urgent needs of the colony, and especially in regard to its defence.[5] But it was soon obliged to curb its efforts on account of the lack of return on investments required by its shareholders, who would not consent to sink their capital in an annuity that granted lower returns than those promised initially. The decline of the military defences from 1461 onwards was the main cause of the feeble resistance offered to James II's troops, who recaptured the city in January 1464.

Are mercenaries men without a fatherland, simply attracted by their love of gain and quickly put to flight in the face of superior forces? The study of the geographical origins results in a more nuanced perception as regards the classical characterization of mercenaries, as is shown by the following table and map:

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5 V. Vitale, "Statuti e ordinamenti sul governo del Banco di San Gorgio a Famagosta", *Atti della Società ligure di Storia patria*, 64 (1935), 392–395 ; N. Banescu, *Le déclin de Famagouste. Fin du royaume de Chypre* (Bucharest: Institut roumain d'études byzantines, 1946); G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940–1952), III, 505–508; V. Polonio, "Famagosta genovese a meta del'400 : assemblee, armamenti, gride", *Miscellanea di Storia ligure in memoria di Giorgio Falco* (Genoa, 1966), 211–237; M. Balard, "La place de la Famagouste Génoise dans le royaume des Lusignan (1374–1464)", in idem, *Les marchands italiens à Chypre* (Nicosia : Cyprus Research Centre, 2007), 136.

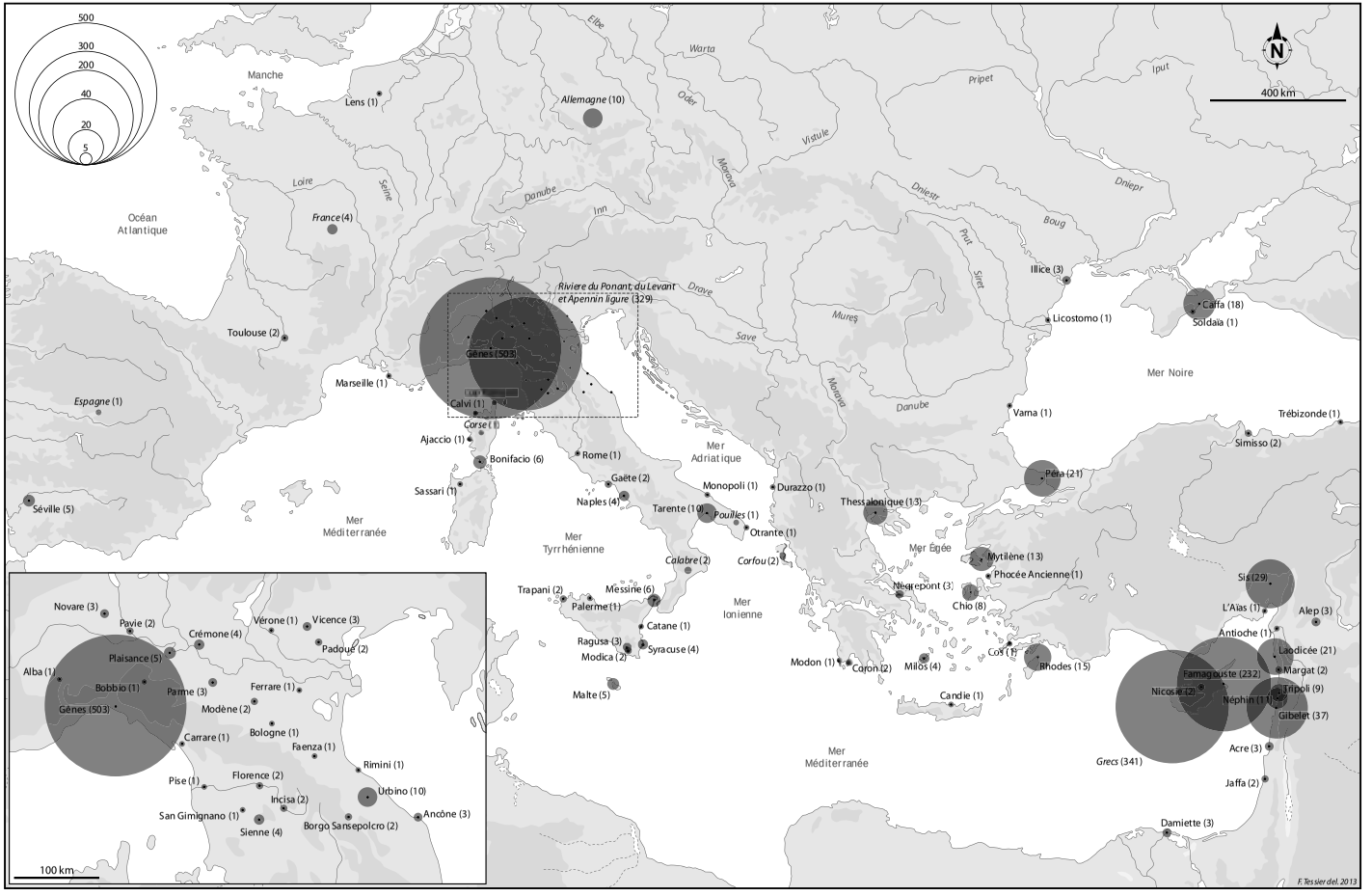

Figure 2. Geographical Origins of the Men-at-arms in XVth Century Famagusta

	1407	1437	1442	1459	1460
No. of mercenaries	592	618	316	636	487
Places of origin (%)					
– Genoa	23.7%	27%	23.4%	16.9%	13.6%
– Riviera of Ponante	7.6%	2.3%	1.6%	3%	4.3%
– Riviera of Levante	3.9%	2.1%	1.2%	2.3%	0.1%
– Ligurian Apennines	7.8%	2.4%	2.2%	4.6%	4.1%
Total :	43%	33.8%	28.4%	26.8%	22.1%
– Italy (outside Liguria)	6.1%	5.2%	5.4%	6.1%	5.8%
– West	4.5%	3.2%	3.2%	4.3%	2.9%
– Genoese Levant (Pera, Chios, Caffa)	5.6%	1.4%	2.8%	3.1%	3.9%
– Venetian Levant (Corfu, Crete, Morea)	1.5%	0.1%	1%	1%	1%
– Cyprus	5.2%	6.3%	4.8%	5.9%	5.4%
– Greeks	4.9%	8.5%	7.3%	12.4%	12.2%
– Armenians	—	4.7%	6.1%	3.1%	3.7%
– Syrians	5.1%	5.9%	3.8%	4.5%	4.3%
– Jews	0.7%	3.6%	1.6%	1.3%	1.2%
– Egyptians	—	1.4%	2.9%	0.8%	1%
– Various	3.5%	2.8%	3.5%	3.5%	3.5%
– Unclassified	20.4%	23.1%	29.2%	27.2%	33%

The recruits originated in part from Genoa itself. In fact several documents show that on each occasion the new captain-podestà of Famagusta, immediately following his appointment, led at the time of his departure a modest complement of mercenaries. To a considerable extent these were natives of Liguria. Although almost 25% of the names enlisted by the clerks of the *Massaria* cannot be identified, since they originated from unknown places in Liguria, the database shows that nearly one third of the mercenaries originated from Genoa (19% among them are clients of the great clans, the Doria and the Spinola families for example) or from the villages of the two Riviere and of the Ligurian Apennines (12%). They consisted of poor peasants attracted by the prospect of full pay, unemployed seamen, modest craftsmen or merchants who hoped to augment their usual income with some supplementary wages. The recruitment and voluntary

emigration that took place constitute two aspects of the great *inurbamento* movement, through which Genoa attracted to itself a part of the population of its *contado*.

Naturally the calling up of men-at-arms extended beyond the bounds of Liguria. Italy, the land of mercenaries *par excellence* in the fifteenth century, supplied a good 6% of the garrison. All the great cities of northern Italy other than Milan, Turin and Venice are represented: Piacenza sent 5 citizens, Cremona 4, Novara, Parma and Vicenza 3 each, Padova, Pavia and Modena 2 each while Bologna, Ferrara, Alba, Rimini, Bobbio, Carrara and Verona sent 1 each. The long rivalry between Genoa and Venice explains the absence of any Venetians, but the presence of recruits from the Venetian colonies is notable: mercenaries from Negroponte, Corfu, Modone, Corone and Candia bear witness to the existence in these great colonial harbours of a population of soldiers of fortune and of unemployed seamen, ready to enlist under arms in hope of acquiring a steady income. As regards central Italy, men came from Borgo San Sepolcro, Urbino, Sienna, Ancona, Incisa, Florence, San Gimignano, Pisa, Faenza and Rome. Southern Italy was also a land of emigration: Famagusta welcomed mercenaries from Taranto, Naples, Syracuse, Messina, Ragusa, Modica, Trapani, Gaeta, Palermo, Monopoli, Otranto and Catania as well as from Puglia and Calabria, though no details are recorded regarding how many arrived from each locality. Emigrants from Bonifacio, Calvi, Corse Cape and Sassari completed the forces from Italy. The other Westerners, Germans (10), French (8), Spanish (6, among them 5 from Seville) and Maltese (5), were isolated minorities within the predominantly Italian group.

Apart from the Ligurians, the most numerous contingent was made up of Cypriots, particularly people from Famagusta bearing a Latin name: old or recent residents, often of low extraction, who were attracted by the prospect of regular pay. They represented almost 9% of the mercenaries. Among them are found a significant number of craftsmen and servants of the Genoese administration, who enlisted for several years in the service of Genoa or of its local officers. Identified clearly by their patronymics, the Greeks too formed a large part of the total strength, namely 13%: they originated either from the island of Cyprus itself, or from Thessaloniki or the islands of Kos and Milos. Next follows a group of Syrians, 4% of the sample. They symbolized the role Cyprus played as a refuge in the last decades of the thirteenth century, as the Frankish states of Syria and Palestine were gradually conquered by the Mamluks. They include 37 men-at-arms from Jubail, an old Genoese settlement in the Holy Land under the administration of the Embriaci family. Also among them are 21 mercenaries from Laodicea, 11 from Neffin, 9 from Tripoli, 3 from Acre and Aleppo, 2 from Margat and Jaffa and 1 from Antioch. Almost a century and a half after the fall of the Latin states, these descendants of the refugees still bore the name of the city their family had originated from, although most of them had been settled in Cyprus for several generations.

Perhaps this onomastic phenomenon also characterized the Armenians appointed to the service of Genoa half a century after the conquest of Cilicia by the Mamluks in 1375. Following this conquest most of these had taken refuge in Cyprus, and particularly three dozen men-at-arms from Sis, whose fall had led to the emigration of the nobility and of poorer Armenians to the Lusignan kingdom, a phenomenon already mentioned by the Augustinian friar James of Verona as early as the first half of the fourteenth century when he described the arrival in Famagusta of Armenians fleeing the Mamluk capture of Ayas.[6] Among these Armenian mercenaries in Famagusta there were probably descendants of those who had followed Isaac Comnenus, the Byzantine duke of Cilicia, who retired to Cyprus in 1183. The garrison also comprised 55 Jews, amounting to 2% of the sample; but it is impossible to determine their origin, whether from within or from outside the island.

A strong current of emigration characterized the Genoese colonies and other possessions in the Levant, from which sent numbers of citizens came for the defence of Famagusta: 21 from Pera, 18 from Caffa, 13 from Mytilene (owned by the Genoese family of the Gattilusi), 8 from Chios, and some from Simisso, Illice, Varna, Licostomo, Chilia, Phocea, Soldaïa and Trebizond. Remarkably, 15 mercenaries from Rhodes can also be added, even though the Hospitaller island would have needed all its forces to confront the Ottomans. The different geographical origins of these men-at-arms show how international the recruitment of mercenaries was during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It extended all over the Mediterranean world; but in Famagusta little communities came into being which were united by extraction, by faith and by the same spirit of adventure and desire for gain.

However, some changes did take place over time in the ethnic composition of the garrison. Between 1407 and 1460, the proportion of the Ligurian mercenaries falls by half, to only 22% of the sample. The fear of troubles in the Levant following the rapid Ottoman conquests had certainly reduced the flow of Ligurian emigration to the area; in the middle of the fifteenth century many Genoese officers appointed to an office in the Genoese colonies of the Levant renounced their positions for the same reason. The decline is also perceptible with regard to Western Latins from Italian, Spanish, French and German cities. Conversely, the proportion of Oriental Christians in the garrison grew, particularly of Greeks, who increased from 4% in 1407 to almost 19% in 1459. The Genoese authorities in the Levant were constrained to undertake local recruitment, which became a great security risk for the enclave, now entrusted in part to the Greeks, who were always ready to come to terms with their co-nationals in the Lusignan kingdom.

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6 On the Armenians in Cyprus, see G. Dedeyan, "Les Arméniens à Chypre de la fin du XIe siècle au début du XIIIe siècle", in *Les Lusignans et l'Outre-Mer, Actes du Colloque Poitiers-Lusignan, 20–24 octobre 1993*, ed. C. Mutafian (Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, 1994), 122–31.

Not all these mercenaries were professional men-at-arms. In the sample of 2649 mercenaries, 192 identified themselves by the name of their usual craft, which they had renounced temporarily for recruitment to the troops of the garrison. Almost fifty assorted crafts are mentioned in the lists: 43 pursued a textile or dressing craft: makers of breeches, manufacturers of blankets and camlets, tailors, shoe-makers, drapers, skin-dressers, all crafts which underline the preponderant role of the textile craft in the economic life of the Genoese settlement. The needs of everyday life were satisfied by trades relating to food supplies and provisioning, with 39 butchers, spicers, bakers, innkeepers, millers, grain-measurers in the garrison, occupations which they had apparently renounced for a post in the garrison. Then follow the iron and metal crafts, with 28 representatives: mortars-makers, cutlers, smiths and coppersmiths; then retail dealers in the bazaar; medical services (barbers and physicians) with 20 members, 14 gardeners, 11 seamen, fishermen, oar-makers and caulkers, and finally building crafts with 4 members only. One may ask: had they in all cases forsaken their craft to be enlisted in the garrison? The lists unfortunately do not permit an answer.

An onomastic analysis of the sample is in line with the results of the studies of nomenclature conducted in respect of the medieval West.[7] As in the Bourgogne country or in the region of Vendôme, the Christian name John comes first with 233 occurrences, that is to say almost 9% of the sample. It is followed by George, quoted 223 times, the relatively high figure reflecting the fact that this holy warrior was considered the second patron of the city of Genoa. Anthony, Nicholas and Peter follow in smaller numbers. Taken together, these first five Christian names represent 26.5% of the sample, a proportion similar to the south of France where these names form a fourth of the total stock of Christian names. The evolution in the relative frequency of the names parallels the gradual change in the geographical origins of the mercenaries: the Christian name George, preponderant in 1407, takes the second place after 1440, following the relative decline of recruitment from Liguria.

LENGTH OF SERVICE (FAMAGUSTA)

Days of service	Men-at-arms	Percentage
0– 49	303	11%
50– 99	241	9%
100–149	203	8%
150–199	347	13%
200–249	331	12%
250–299	142	5%

7 M. Bourin et al., *Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie moderne*, 5 vols. (Tours: Publications de l'Université de Tours, 1989–2002).

Days of service	Men-at-arms	Percentage
300–349 (<50 weaks)	176	7%
350–399	584	22%
400–449	20	1%
450–499	17	1%
500– 549	17	1%
550– 599	17	1%
600– 649	11	0,3%
650– 699	14	1%
700– 749 (>100 weeks)	15	1%
750– 799	8	0,3%
800– 849	20	1%
850– 899	11	0,3%
900– 949	20	1%
950– 999	8	0,3%
1000–1049	17	1%
1050–1099	126	5%
1100–1149	1	—

The defences of Famagusta increased in strength in proportion to the permanence and reliability of the garrison. The duration of their service was fixed by the date of recruitment, usually the first day of the commencement of the new Genoese administration, which was replaced every twelve or fourteen months, and by the date of their paying off, which corresponded to the arrival of a new contingent to Famagusta. But there are many variations in the lengths of the terms of service. Throughout the whole period examined, only 22% of the garrison strength remained in service for a full year, with 13% serving for five to six months, 12% for seven to eight months, and 11% resident in their post of service only for six weeks after being recruited. The highest rate of permanence is found in 1407–1408, when Genoa was under the continuous administration of the French governor, Marshal Boucicault, and also in 1459, when the Banco di San Giorgio had assumed the governance of Famagusta. Only 15 mercenaries stayed in the same post from 1437 to 1461, completing their entire service in the Genoese colony; and perhaps some of them were present even before 1437 or remained there after 1461: these were true professional men-at-arms, who did not exercise any other occupation and who managed to win the confidence of the local authorities. The intermediate recruitments were pure substitutions, replacing those who had either been paid off prematurely on the podestà's orders or had departed due to having been posted elsewhere. Some of them were destined for other offices, as *armiger* or *ministralis*, for example, some were sent to Limassol where another Genoese garrison was settled, and some were appointed as members of the crew of

a ship about to sail. This kind of substitution concerns 23% of the total strength. The discharges included on occasion those due to desertion and flight (3.5% of the force), often in the first weeks of the appointment, and to death (4.3% of the total strength).

Our lists mention some important events which disturbed the life of the city. In 1407, 41 mercenaries took flight and 29 died. Thus 11.8% of the total force disappeared. It is more than likely that the siege of the city by King Janus' troops, though fruitless, is the main reason behind these statistics.[8] In the register of the year 1437, the high number of deaths (34, that is to say 5.5% of the full strength) which took place between 2 April and 15 May 1439 was possibly due to the spread of a pestilence, because the contemporary chronicles do not refer to any military action during those two months.[9] Between October 1460 and February 1461, the clerk of the *Massaria* recorded 23 deaths in the garrison, among them 5 on 26 October and six on 22 February 1461, the latter having been 'killed by the Moors'. Without doubt, these were the victims of an expeditionary assault carried out by 100 Muslims forming part of the Mamluk army who, on the orders of Rizzo de Marino, an officer of King James II, came to lay waste the surroundings of Famagusta, according to the contemporary Cypriot chronicler George Bustron.[10] Some victims of Catalan raids are also mentioned by the clerk of the *Massaria*. All these reasons explain the significant 'turn over' among the garrison and the frequent recourse to mercenaries of Oriental extraction. In this manner the lists of the mercenaries can shed light on the population's woes arising from the civil wars between the Lusignans or Mamluk raids against Cyprus.

PAY OF THE MEN-AT-ARMS (FAMAGUSTA)

Salary (besants/month)	Number of men-at-arms	Percentage
0–19	89	3%
20–29	1557	59%
30–39	321	12%
40–49	248	9%
50–59	277	10%
60–69	64	2%
70–79	35	1%
80–89	39	1%
90–99	8	0,3%
110<	11	0,4%

8 Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, II, 458.
9 Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, III, 503 note 2.
10 Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, III, 566.

Would the pay be less attractive during the fifteenth century? Usually payment was given every two months and recorded in white besants of Cyprus. Furthermore, it was often supplemented by a grain assignment. It varied according to the offices and hierarchy within the body of the garrison. The majority of mercenaries (59%) earnt 20 to 30 besants, while the corporals who commanded a tower of the fortifications earned 60 besants. Only some specialists (cross-bowmen, mortars-makers) could earn more than 100 besants. Less than 2% of the men-at-arms earned wages above the sum of 80 besants. The average of the different levels of pay comes to 28 besants between 1407 and 1437 and then declines to 26 in 1442 owing to the financial difficulties of the Commune, rising again to 35 besants in 1459, thanks to the Banco di San Giorgio, which attempted to bolster the garrison by offering attractive rates of pay. Nonetheless, as early as 1460–1461 the average declined to 31 besants. The relative lowering of the pay along with the increased recruitment of Greeks to the garrison goes to explain the weak resistance offered to James II's troops in January 1464 and hence the end of the Genoese occupation.

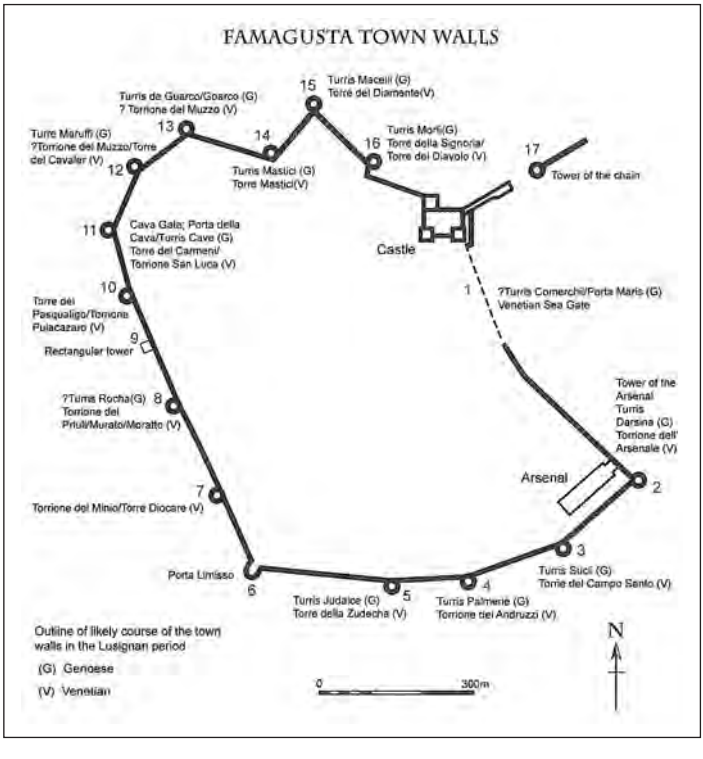

Figure 3. Famagusta in the XVth century (in J. Petre, *Crusader Castles in Cyprus*, Nicosia 2012, p. 165)

Our lists, moreover, constitute an invaluable documentary record for the study of the fortifications of Famagusta. According to Stephen of Lusignan, the enceinte was built under King Henry II and completed in 1310 during the king's exile in Cilicia by his brother, the usurper Amaury.[11] At the end of the fourteenth century, when the Genoese came into possession of it, the wall was composed of a sequence of towers, *scalle* and brettices, which began from the arsenal in the south-east corner of the city and extended to the Saint-Anthony's brettice in the north. The *Massaria* accounts mention the following as coming in succession: the *scalla* of the arsenal, the tower of the arsenal, the tower of the Middle, the tower *Sucii*, the brettice and the tower *Parmerii*, the tower and the brettice of the Jewish quarter, the tower, the *scalla* and the brettice of Limassol, the tower and the brettice of La Rocca, the brettice and the tower of La Cava, the tower *Maruffus*, the tower *de Goarco*, the brettices and the tower of the Mastic, the towers of the slaughter-house, the tower and the brettice Morfi, a little unnamed tower near the *castrum*, the tower of the *Comerc*, the brettice of the Logia, the brettice and the *scalla* of Saint-Anthony, and two unnamed towers near the arsenal.[12] The lynchpin of the defence is constituted by the *castrum* in the northern angle of the city where the greater part of the garrison was quartered, particularly the *Residium*, a kind of reserve squadron, under the command of two castellans until 1443 and then under that of the captain and both treasurers.[13] Today the topography of the fortifications, considerably modified during the Ottoman period, does not permit the identification of all the towers and brettices in place under the Genoese domination. At that time, each tower and each brettice was served by four to eight men-at-arms, under the command of a corporal.

The lists of the Genoese mercenaries of Famagusta present an image of a precise military organization, where pay was regular and where the appointments of the mercenaries to specific posts were relatively stable all year long. But one can also distinguish some failures in the system owing to the imminent dangers, namely the Mamluk raids or the attempts made by Lusignan troops to reconquer the city, or even the increasingly important presence of native elements, particularly the Greeks, in the

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11 Estienne de Lusignan, *Description de toute l'isle de Chypre* (Paris : Chez Guillaume Chaudiere, Rue St Jacques, 1580), 24–25. This assertion, which J. Richard accepts in "La situation juridique de Famagouste", p. 222, is challenged by D. Jacoby, "The Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the late Thirteenth Century", *Meletai kai Hypomnemata* I (1984): 149, who believes that the fortifications of Famagusta cannot be dated precisely.

12 ASG, FM, n° 1276 (year 1443), f. 110; n° 1279 (year 1456), f. 69r–82r; n° 1280 (year 1456), f. 100r–133r, etc. This list can be compared with the list written on a plan of the harbour of Famagusta at the end of the XVIth century published in F. Frigerio, "Un plan manuscrit du XVIe siècle du port de Famagouste", in *Praktika tou Deuterou Diethnous Kypriologikou Synedriou*, 3 vols. (Nicosia: Society of Cypriot Studies, 1985–1987), II, 299–300. During the period of Venetian domination one finds reference to the Mastic towers, the Medii tower, the Limassol gate, and the Jewry.

13 ASG, FM, n° 1276, f. 1r (6 May 1443).

Figure 4. Famagusta siege in 1571

garrison who failed to resist James II's troops. In January 1464 the Genoese occupation ended. This benefited no one, neither the metropolis, where the mercantile elite had rediscovered the routes to Alexandria and Beirut from the 1350s onwards, nor Famagusta itself, which remained ruined and depopulated during the middle of the fifteenth century.

MARITIME TRADE IN FAMAGUSTA DURING THE VENETIAN PERIOD (1474–1571)

Benjamin Arbel

Introduction

The geographic location of port towns is often used as an explanation for their function as important trading centres. Yet it seems that changing geo-political circumstances can be much more influential in this respect. Thus, following the fall of Crusader Acre in 1291, Famagusta enjoyed particularly favourable circumstances, which included opportunities to trade with inner Asia through the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia and trade with the nearby Mamluk territories, circumventing papal prohibitions in this respect.[1] Yet this favourable situation lasted merely a few decades. The Black Death must have dealt a serious blow to Famagusta's prosperity, and Genoese rule over this town, which began in 1374 and ended in January 1464, was accompanied by a slow decline in the town's economic importance. This decline can be explained by a combination of several factors, such as the end of the *Pax Mongolica* in Central Asia, the fall of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia in 1375, and Genoa's inability to impose its monopolistic policy on the entire island.[2]

The weakening of Famagusta's commercial importance must have continued during the short interval between its conquest by King James II of Cyprus and the Venetian occupation of Cyprus. By that time, however, Venice had gained hegemony in the maritime trade of the eastern Mediterranean.[3] It is therefore interesting to fol-

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1 D. Jacoby, "The Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the Late Thirteenth Century", *Meletai kai Hypomnemata* I (1984): 145–79, repr. in Jacoby, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1989), no. VIII.; idem, "To emporio kai he oikonomia tes Kyprou (1192–1489)", in *Historia tes Kyprou* IV, *Mesaionikon Basileion, Henetokratia*, ed. Th. Papadopoullos (Nicosia: Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, 1995), 387–454; M. Balard, "L'activité commerciale en Chypre dans les années 1300", in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. R. C. Smail (Cardiff : University College Cardiff Press, 1985), 251–62, reprinted in idem, *Les marchands italiens à Chypre* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2007), VI.

2 Jacoby, "To emporio kai he oikonomia", 422–54.

3 E. Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 450–79.

low the ways in which Cyprus, and particularly its major port town, was integrated into Venice's system of international trade after the island's inclusion in the Republic's overseas dominions (*de facto* from 1474, *de iure* from 1489).

The Legal and Organizational Framework

Considering that the greater part of seaborne trade in which Cyprus was involved during its domination by Venice was carried out on board Venetian ships, some preliminary clarifications regarding the organization of Venice's merchant fleet would be useful before turning to Famagusta's role in this activity. The transportation of high-value goods, such as spices, drugs and silk, was reserved, in principle, for the merchant galleys, which belonged to the state and were yearly auctioned for operation by groups of investors on routes that were pre-established by the Venetian Senate. They were secure vessels operated and protected by a crew of nearly 200 seamen. They were mostly driven by sails, but the possibility of using rowers gave them some freedom from total dependence on the elements, and consequently greater prospects of gaining time.[4] They generally sailed in convoy under strict control of the Venetian authorities, and were commanded by a captain, elected for this task by the Republic's Great Council.[5]

Private shipping was also under state control, though to a lesser extent. The Republic considered it highly important to ensure the safety of ships flying its flag, both against the elements and against human threats. A basic distinction was therefore made between *navi armate* and *navi disarmate*. The difference mainly consisted in the number of armed seamen on board. But there were also some technical factors that were taken into consideration in making the distinction.[6]

Trade on board small vessels within a short distance from the metropolis will not concern us here; likewise, maritime trade within the so-called Gulf of Venice, i.e. in the Adriatic Sea from the Ionian Islands northwards, which had its own particular conditions and rules, is also mostly irrelevant to our study, although one has to take into consideration that laws forbidding vessels that were not round ships of a certain type to engage in maritime trade outside the "Gulf" were not always heeded. Two other categories, on the other hand, are pertinent to the present discussion: one concerns Venetian round ships allowed to engage in trade outside the Adriatic Sea, a sphere in which Venetian Cyprus (particularly with regard to the transportation of Cypriot salt) occupied a

4 F. C. Lane, *Venice, a Maritime Republic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 12, 337–52.

5 D. Stöckly, *Le système de l'Incanto des galées du marché à Venise (fin XIIIe–milieu XVe siècle)* (Leiden: Brill, 1995); C. Judde de Larivière, *Naviguer, commercer, gouverner. Économie maritime et pouvoirs à Venise (XVe–XVIe siècles)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

6 Lane, *Venice, A Maritime Republic*, 48–49.

key role,[7] and the second is maritime trade exercised by Venice's colonial subjects, whose base of operation was not the city of Venice, but rather one of its overseas territories.[8]

The kinds of private Venetian merchantmen that were allowed to sail outside the Adriatic Sea and carry merchandise to Venice were subject repeatedly to legislation that was motivated by economic and defence considerations and was influenced by changing circumstances. Thus, as from 28 September 1469, flat-bottomed *marani* were not allowed to engage in trade (except for importation of salt) outside the Adriatic.[9] According to a law of 27 August 1490, only square-rigged ships with a tonnage of at least 400 *botti* (equivalent, according to different scholars, to 240–320 metric tons), a stern castle and a forecastle were allowed to load salt in Cyprus.[10] The growing importance of shipping activities carried out by colonial subjects later forced Venice to tone down such restrictions. In 1524 the minimum tonnage of ships that were entitled to load salt in Cyprus was reduced to 180 *mozze* (c. 225 *botti*).[11] Ownership of such ships was reserved for patricians and Venetian citizens with full citizenship rights.[12]

In the overseas colonies the legal situation was different, since local subjects who were neither Venetian patricians nor full-right Venetian citizens owned ships and

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7 The laws governing this category changed in the course of the period treated here. See J.-C. Hocquet, "Il 'Libro creditorum conducentium sale Cipro' dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia", *Archivio Veneto* 108 (1977), 43–85; J.-C. Hocquet, *Le sel et la fortune de Venise*, 2 vols. (Lille: Presses universitaires de Lille, 1979), II: *Voiliers et commerce en Méditeranée, 1200–1650*, 213–14.

8 B. Arbel, "Venetian Cyprus and the Muslim Levant, 1473–1570", in *Cyprus and the Crusades*, ed. N. Coureas and J. Riley Smith (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1995), 182–183 (note 79), reprinted in B. Arbel, *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th–16th Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate-Variorum, 2000), XII; G. Pagratis, "Trade and Shipping in Corfu (1496–1538)", *International Journal of Maritime History* 16/2 (2004), 159–220.

9 Hocquet, *Le sel et la fortune de Venise*, II: 212.

10 Ibid., 212–213. For discussions on the metric equivalent of the *botte*, see F. C. Lane, "Tonnage, Medieval and Modern", *Economic History Review*, 2nd series 17 (1964): 213–33, republished in his *Venice and History*, 345–370; idem, *Navires et constructeurs à Venise pendant la Renaissance* (Paris: SEVPEN, 1965), 241–42; idem, *Venice, A Maritime Republic*, 479–80; U. Tucci, "Un problema di metrologia navale. La botte veneziana", *Studi Veneziani* 9 (1987), 19–68; Hocquet, *Le sel et la fortune de Venise*, II, 87–89 and *s.v.* "tonnage".

11 Hocquet, *Le sel et la fortune de Venise*, II: 213.

12 G. Luzzatto, "Les activités économiques du patriciat vénitien (Xe–XIVe siècles)", in *Studi di storia economica veneziana* (Padua: CEDAM, 1954), 163–65; A. Bellavitis, *Identité, Mariage, mobilité sociale. Citoyennes et citoyens à Venise au XVIe siècle* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2001), 20–21, 41. According to Tucci, "Venetian legislation and practice of this period did not make any clear distinction between ownership of a vessel and participation in a maritime venture or voyage". See U. Tucci, "Venetian Ship-Owners in the XVIth Century", *Journal of European Economic History* 16 (1987), 278. See also G. Luzzatto, "Le vicende del porto di Venezia dal primo Medio Evo allo scoppio della guerra, 1914–1918", in Luzzatto, *Studi*, 17; idem, "Per la storia delle costruzioni navali a Venezia nei secoli XV e XVI", in Luzzatto, *Studi*, 45–46. See also Archivio di Stato di Venezia (hereafter: ASV), Compilazione delle leggi, busta 134, "Cittadinanza", ff. 399, 418; ibid., busta, 134, f. 432. The Levantine Jews (some of whom were ship owners) who were invited to settle in Venice in 1541 to engage in international trade were Ottoman, not Venetian subjects. See B. Arbel, "Jews in International Trade: The Emergence of the Levantines and Ponentines", in *The Jews in Early Modern Venice*, ed. R. C. Davis and B. Ravid (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 73–96.

engaged in international maritime trade that was exercised on local vessels, and the control over the type and size of such vessels was much less effective.[13]

Finally it should be emphasized that the repeated attempts made by Venice to cause maritime trade exercised by its subjects to pass through Venice itself and pay customs dues there were impossible to implement efficiently. Moreover, these laws mainly concerned certain types of goods originating from specific areas, and did not apply to a great part of the maritime trade exercised in the Republic's overseas territories.[14]

Venice's Trade in the Levant

Except for a few short periods of crisis, particularly around the turn of the sixteenth century, as well as during the war with the Ottomans in the late 1530s, the nearly one hundred years of Venetian rule in Cyprus coincided with intensive maritime trade activities of the *Serenissima* in the eastern Mediterranean and with an unprecedented expansion of Venice's commercial fleet. Venice's rule of Cyprus was in fact used by the Republic as a tool for supporting the efficient development of its merchant fleet of private ships.[15] On the other hand, the system of state-owned merchant galleys was subject to growing difficulties. Around the turn of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese presence in Asia disrupted the spice trade through the ports of the Islamic Levant and the stability of the spice markets there, which was essential for a successful operation of the merchant galleys. Somewhat later, during the war with the Ottomans between 1537 and 1541, the Beirut and Alexandria lines had to be suspended, but they resumed their sailings in 1542. Subsequently, the Beirut line, which is the one relevant to the present study, sailed yearly until 1551, but then operated rather irregularly until 1569.

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13 For example ASV, Senato Mar, reg. 23, ff. 211–211v (Cypriots allowed to exercise maritime trade freely, 26 Feb 1536 m.v.). Whether this ability depended on a status of local citizenship deserves further investigation. Further research is also needed concerning the control over the type of ships used by colonial subjects. See in this regard Pagratis, "Trade and Shipping in Corfu".

14 G. Luzzatto, "Navigazione di linea e navigazione libera nelle grandi città marinare del medio evo", in Luzzatto, *Studi*, 56; Pagratis, "Trade and Shipping in Corfu"; M. Fusaro, *Uva passa. Una guerra commerciale tra Venezia e l'Inghilterra (1540–1640)* (Venice: Il Cardo, 1996); B. Arbel, "Venice's Maritime Empire in the Early Modern Period", in *Handbook of Early Modern Venice*, ed. E. Dursteler (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 340–41, 345–46, 349.

15 On the Levant trade during this period and Venice's role in it, see especially F. C. Lane, "Venetian Shipping during the Commercial Revolution", *American Historical Review* 38 (1933), 219–39, republished in his *Venice and History: The Collected Papers of F. C. Lane* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966), 3–24 (the pagination of the latter collection will be used here); idem, "The Mediterranean Spice Trade: Its Revival in the Sixteenth Century", *American Historical Review* 45 (1940), 581–590, republished in Lane, *Venice and History* , 25–34; F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols. (London, 1972–1973), I, 543–642; Judde de Larivière, *Naviguer.* On the expansion of Venice's merchant marine, see Lane, "Venetian Shipping", 17; R. Romano, "La marine marchande vénitienne au XVIe siècle", in *Les sources de l'histoire maritime en Europe, du Moyen Age au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: SEVPEN, 1962), 33–34: Hocquet, *Le sel et la fortune de Venise*, II, 578 ff.

However, it is noteworthy that as long as Cyprus remained under Venetian domination, unlike other lines that were discontinued earlier, the galleys of Beirut continued to sail, though with some interruptions, between Venice and the Levant.[16] In any case, as emphasized long ago by Frederic Lane, the gradual decline of the system of merchant galleys should not be considered as representing a contraction of the volume of Venetian maritime trade with the Levant, but rather as a change in its organization.[17]

Venice's main commercial interlocutors on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean during the century of the Republic's rule of Cyprus were the Mamluk Sultanate and, from 1517 onwards, the Ottoman Empire. Venice was never at war with the Mamluks, but harassments, disagreements, misunderstandings and conflicts of various kinds occasionally disrupted the trading activities of Venetians in Mamluk territories.[18] Relations with the Ottomans were stormier, characterized by four open wars during the period treated here, the last of which ended by terminating Venice's domination of the great island. Yet on the conclusion of each military conflict new capitulations were signed, in which the conditions of trade, particularly Venetian trade in Ottoman territories, constituted a central component. Moreover, even during wartime, trade between Venetian and Ottoman territories was not totally discontinued, as I have been able to demonstrate in another study dedicated to the commercial activities of one of the Venetian governors of Cyprus.[19]

The Role of Famagusta

Until January 1464, the domination of Famagusta by Genoa, Venice's traditional rival, and the Genoese policy aimed at preventing maritime trade through any other Cypriot port or anchorage, prevented Venetian vessels from regularly using Famagusta. Arguably, it was precisely Venice's policy of preventing Genoese Famagusta from becoming an important emporium in the Levant trade, combined with Venetian interest in Cypriot sugar (produced in large quantities on the Cypriot estates of the Corner da Piscopia family), that moved Venice in 1445 to renew the Cyprus line of merchant

16 The last galleys sent to Aigues-Mortes (Provence) sailed in 1506; the *Trafego* line to North Africa and the Levant was discontinued in 1509; the last galleys of the Flanders line and the Barbary line sailed in 1533; the Alexandria line continued to operate until 1564. See the table in Judde de Larivière, *Naviguer*, 66–67.

17 Lane, "Venetian Shipping".

18 E.g. Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 399–401, 460; B. Arbel, "Venetian Trade in Fifteenth-Century Acre: The Letters of Francesco Bevilaqua", *Asian and African Studies* 22 (1988), 235–36; idem, "The Last Decades of Venice's Trade with the Mamluks: Importations into Egypt and Syria", *Mamluk Studies Review* 8/2 (2004), 37–39; G. Christ, *Trading Conflicts: Venetian Merchants and Mamluk Officials in Late Medieval Alexandria* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 175–76, 228, 251–67.

19 B. Arbel, "Operating Trading Networks in Times of War: A Sixteenth-Century Venetian Patrician between Public Service and Private Affairs", in *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. S. Faroqhi and G. Veinstein (Paris-Louvain and Dudley MA: Peeters, 2008), 23–33.

galleys, which would function alongside the Beirut line until 1461. These galleys often used other Cypriot ports and anchorages, such as Paphos, Episkopi, Limassol and the Saint Lazarus salt pans (Saline, Le Saline), which were all less secure than Famagusta.[20]

The Venetian take-over in 1474 led to wider commercial prospects for both Venice and Cyprus, which became the Republic's biggest overseas colony. The fact that the island was a Venetian territory constituted a great advantage for Venetian vessels sailing in that region, and the link to Venice's system of international trade offered new opportunities to Cypriot seamen and entrepreneurs. What was the role of Famagusta under these circumstances?

As far as commercial shipping was concerned, the main advantages of Famagusta were twofold: its harbour, the only one in Cyprus worthy of this name, which could be closed by a chain and be defended by soldiers stationed in the castle right above it, as well as by a small squadron of war galleys; and the town's geographical position at a relatively short distance from the Syrian ports of Beirut and Tripoli, which were important outlets of spices, drugs, silk and other goods that were highly sought after by Western merchants. The Venetians, therefore, took good care for the maintenance of this harbour in order to enable vessels of different types and sizes to use it safely.[21]

Nevertheless, the salt monopoly of the Venetian state, which provided a stable and reliable market for salt brought to Venice in the hulls of Venetian ships, and also the system instituted by Venice by which loans for the building of big merchantmen could be repaid by transporting Cypriot salt to Venice, caused most ship owners to prefer the salt pans of St. Lazarus (Saline), where ships could probably also moor without paying anchorage tax, as their main Cypriot destination. Compared to Famagusta, Saline (nowadays Larnaca) was also closer by about 20 km to Nicosia, the biggest and most important urban centre in Venetian Cyprus. Although grains were sometimes loaded on Venetian ships in Famagusta,[22] Saline may have also been a more comfortable outlet for Cypriot agricultural products, such as cotton, wheat and barley, which were exported in great quantities during the Venetian domination of the island.[23] Therefore, notwithstanding the

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20 A. Tenenti and C. Vivanti, "Le film d'un grand système de navigation: les galères marchandes vénitiennes, XIVe–XVIe siècles", *Annales ESC* 16 (1961), 83–86 and attachment; P. Racine, "Note sur le trafic vénéto-chypriote à la fin du Moyen Age", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 5 (1973): 307–29; D. Stöckly, "Le transport maritime d'État à Chypre. Complément des techniques coloniales vénitiens (XIII^{e}–XV^{e} siècle): L'exemple du sucre", in *Coloniser au Moyen Age*, ed. M. Balard and A. Ducelier (Paris: Armand Colin, 1995), 131–41, 153–56, esp. 136; idem, *Le système de l'Incanto des galées du marché à Venise (fin XIII^{e}–milieu XV^{e} siècle)* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 126–27.

21 B. Arbel, "The Maintenance of Famagusta's Harbour under Venetian Administration (1474–1571)", forthcoming.

22 *Anekdota engrapha tes kypriakes historias apo to kratiko arkheio tes Venetias*, 4 vols. (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1990–2003), ed. A. Aristeidou, II, 62 (1509); III, 38 (1518 n.s.).

23 B. Arbel, "He Kypros hypo henetike kyriarkhia", in *Historia tes Kyprou*, IV, *Mesaionikon Basileion, Henetokratia*, ed. Th. Papadopoullos (Nicosia: Makarios III Foundation, 1995), 520–24; idem, "The Economy of Cyprus during the Venetian Period (1473–1571)", in *The Development of the Cypriot Economy from the Prehistoric Pe-*

repeated attempts by the representatives of Famagusta to cause Venice to compel its ships to load and unload all goods in their port, and despite Venice's partial approval of these requests, most Venetian ships continued to moor at Saline until the end of Venetian rule in the island.[24] Apparently, economic and organizational advantages were considered more important compared to the risks of exposure to piratical attacks at Saline. When the Venetian governors considered the risk of an attack on ships mooring in the open bay of Saline to be too high, they could order the captains to transfer their ships to the well-protected harbour of Famagusta, as they did during the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517.[25]

The merchant galleys, on the other hand, being state property, would have had fewer reasons to anchor at Saline—or so it seemed to me before checking the matter more thoroughly—since they did not come under the law encouraging private ship building, they did not transport bulky goods, and their precious shiploads needed protection while anchoring in Cyprus. But in reality, the patterns followed by the galleys of the Beirut line were more complex. We can partly follow their visits in Cyprus with the help of the *Incanti* registers, in which the Venetian senate's conditions governing the operation of the galleys are specified. Unfortunately, quite often these documents only refer to the "usual ports" that had to be visited, without further specifications, and there is also a gap of twenty-nine years (1497–1525) in the registers containing the decisions relevant to the galley voyages (*Incanti de galee*). But despite these handicaps, a general pattern can be observed, and what is lacking in the *Incanti* registers can be partly completed with the help of other sources.

Between the beginning of the Venetian control over Famagusta in 1474 and the conquest of this town by the Ottomans in 1571, the Beirut galleys (*galee di Baruto*) were sent to Syria seventy-four times.[26] Yet, a review of the deliberations of the Venetian Sen-

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riod to the Present Day, ed. V. Karageorghis and D. Michaelides (Nicosia: The University of Cyprus and The Bank of Cyprus, 1996), 185–92.

24 L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*(Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1852–1861), III: 489, 491 (1491); *Kanonismoi tes nesou Kyprou (1507–1522)*, ed. G. S. Ploumidis (Ioannina: Panepistemio Ioanninon, 1987), 53–54 (1507); ASV, Senato Mar, reg. XIX, ff. 222v–223 (1521); ibid., reg. 33, ff. 171r–171v (1557); B. Arbel, "Traffici marittimi e sviluppo urbano a Cipro (secoli XIII–XVI)", in *Città portuali del Mediterraneo*, ed. E. Poleggi (Genoa: SAGEP Editrice, 1989), 89–94.

25 For a piratical attack on Venetian ships mooring at Saline in 1509, see Aristeidou, *Anekdota engrapha*, II: 44. On the transfer of ships from Saline to Famagusta in 1517, see Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXIV, 217.

26 Between 1474 and 1571, no voyages of the Beirut line are recorded in the following 23 years: 1479, 1499, 1505, 1511, 1517, 1537–41 (war with the Ottomans), 1552–53, 1555, 1558, 1560–62, 1565–68, 1570–71. See Tenenti and Vivanti, "Un film", and Judde de Larivière, *Naviguer*, 66–67. In 1499 (a period of war against the Ottomans), an *incanto* of the Beirut galleys was made, but the galleys were eventually sent to join the military fleet and never reached Cyprus. See Marino Sanuto, *I diarii*, ed. R. Fulin *et alii*, 58 vols. (Venice: R. Deputazione veneta di storia patria, 1879–1902), II: 577, 835, 1004. The same happened with the galleys auctioned in February 1505 (n.s.), ibid., III: 122, 264, 406. From 1546 onwards the "Beirut galleys" actually sailed to Tripoli and abandoned Beirut as their final destination. See ASV, Senato Mar, Incanti di galee, II, f. 84 (1546) and the following *incanti*. As far as the Beirut (or Tripoli) line is concerned, Lane's claim that between 1535 and 1569 galleys were only "occasionally" sent to Beirut and Alexandria would be more appropriate for the 1550s and 1560s. See Lane, *Navires et constructeurs*, 24.

ate that concerned this line (it was maintained following the substitution of Tripoli for Beirut in 1546) reveals, somewhat surprisingly, that the advantage of Famagusta as a well-protected harbour does not seem to have constituted a very central consideration in the Senate's instructions to the galley operators regarding the ports to be visited en route. To be sure, the *capitano* of the galley convoy was ordered to stop at Famagusta for four days on his way eastward, a point to which we shall return presently. But when sailing back to Venice the earlier instructions left the decision whether to stop in Cyprus (without further specification) on the return voyage to the discretion of the convoy's captain.[27] In fact, it seems that during the early decades of Venetian rule in Cyprus, the Beirut galleys did occasionally moor in the harbour of Famagusta on their homebound voyage.[28]

However, from 1546 onward, the ports to be visited were specified regularly in the *Incanti*, and they reveal that by then, the Beirut galleys were required to stop regularly in Cyprus on their way back—yet, somewhat surprisingly, not in Famagusta, but rather at Saline, where they had to remain for three days.[29] Thus, precisely when they were loaded with the expensive wares carried from Syria to Venice, the Republic preferred the unprotected anchorage at Saline over the secure harbour of Famagusta as a stopover of the Beirut galleys on their homebound voyage. Apparently the galleys were considered to be sufficiently well-protected by their big crews and canons,[30] and the above stated advantages of Saline over Famagusta seem to have been of greater weight at this point, as they had already been for the privately owned round ships, although not necessarily for the same reasons. As far as the galleys were concerned, mooring at Saline for three days was probably done with the aim of establishing contacts with the central administration of the colony in Nicosia for any practical purpose that might arise, such as sending specie and letters to Venice, or transporting officials.[31]

When bound eastward, on the other hand, the stopover at Famagusta seems to have been mainly intended to ensure that the crossing toward the ports controlled by the Mamluks or Ottomans was safe enough. Famagusta's proximity to the Syrian ports, and the close contacts of Famagusta's Syrian population with the mainland, transformed the town into an important centre of information, and were a significant inducement to use Famagusta as a last station before proceeding to the final destina-

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27 ASV, Senato Mar, Incanti di galee, I, ff. 64 (1479), 69v–70v (1480).

28 See, for example, Aristeidou, *Anekdota engrapha*, III, 164, 168 (6 October 1523).

29 ASV, Senato Mar, Incanti di galee, II, ff. 84 (1546), 89 (1547), 99v (1548); ibid., II, liber quintus, f. 3v (1549), 5v (1550), 12v–13 (1551n.s.), 13v (1553), 16 (1554), 25–25v (1556), 31–31v (1557), 33v (1559), 43v (1563), 46–46v (1564), 52v–53 (1569).

30 On each of the merchant galleys there were 6–8 artillerymen (*bombardieri*). See ASV, Senato Mar, Incanti di galee, I, ff. 108, 112; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Heb. 276, f. 113v (Elijah of Pesaro's Hebrew letter of 1563). Elijah's reference to artillerymen remains unmentioned in all printed editions of this text.

31 See, for example, the use of the of the Beirut galleys by the governors of Cyprus for sending 1,500 ducats to Venice in 1533, in Aristeidou, *Anekdota engrapha*, IV (Nicosia, 2003), 156.

tion—Beirut and/or Tripoli.[32] Hundreds of thousands of ducats, as well as precious goods were on board, and no risks could be taken. The ever-present menace of the plague in these regions was also a factor to be taken into consideration.[33] The value of information that could be gathered in Famagusta on the conditions in Syria was therefore enormous, and the four days allotted to the galleys to stay in this port were apparently mainly dedicated to finding out anything relevant to the imminent arrival of the Venetian galleys in the Syrian ports.

The galley convoys normally included two to four vessels,[34] each of which had on board a crew of nearly 200 members, and many more passengers. Consequently, their visits in Famagusta constituted an important event in the cycle of town life, creating a periodical market for goods and services that were offered to those on board. Their stay in the town's harbour also allowed them to take on supplies for the succeeding leg of the galleys' voyage, and whenever needed, maintenance and repair services could be performed as well. All these activities constituted sources of revenue for the local inhabitants, albeit not on a continuous and permanent basis.[35] Moreover, such short periods of hectic activity are not comparable to the periodical fairs created in Beirut, Tripoli and Alexandria on the one hand, and in Venice on the other, whenever the merchant galleys arrived there,[36] not only because of the longer stay of the galleys in these other ports but mainly because the bulk of the precious cargo (or specie) carried by these ships was not intended to be unloaded or exchanged in Cyprus, but rather in the terminal destinations on their respective routes.

When, for one reason or another, the navigation of the Beirut galleys was suspended, there was always a risk that ships operated by other trading nations would reach the ports of the Levant first and acquire the precious wares that were so highly sought after in the West. In such circumstances Famagusta could serve as an emporium for wares bought by Venetian agents in Syria to forestall their purchase by merchants from rival trading nations. Thus, on two occasions in 1505–06, when no galleys were

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32 ASV, Collegio, busta 84, Francesco Grimani (1553), f. 2: "*una gran parte di questi habitanti sono genti forestiere di Soria, i qual sono trattati di quel medesimo modo che li terrieri.*"

33 See B. Arbel, "Elijah of Pesaro's Description of Famagusta (1563)", in *Cyprus as a Crossroads of Travellers and Map Makers (15th–20th Century)* (Athens: Sylvia Ioannou Foundation, forthcoming), 10–11.

34 Judde de Larivière, *Naviguer*, 66–67

35 Arbel, "Venetian Cyprus and the Muslim Levant", 169–170. On the Beirut galleys in Famagusta, see, for example, Sanuto, *I diarii*, XII, 298 (12 May 1511); ibid., XV, 391 (11 October 1512). Elijah of Pesaro, who sailed eastward on the Beirut galleys in 1563, wrote that each one of these two galleys carried about 400 persons. See "Voyage de Venise à Famagouste en 1563 par Elie de Pesaro (Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris)", ed. B. Goldberg and M. Adelman, in *Vie eternelle. Publication mensuelle des manuscrits précieux, provenants des anciens docteurs israélites* (Paris, 1878) [in Hebrew], 10. Among the many editions and translations of this text, this one is still to be preferred. See Arbel, "Elijah of Pesaro's Description of Famagusta (1563)".

36 Cf. F.C. Lane, "Fleets and Fairs", in *Studi in onore di Armando Sapori* (Milan: Cisalpino, 1957), I, 651–63, republished in his *Venice and History*, 128–41.

sent to Mamluk territories because of the strained relations between the Republic and the sultan, Famagusta's governor sent one of the military galleys that were regularly moored in the town's port to collect silk and spices which had been purchased by Venetian merchants, for temporary storage in Famagusta.[37]

For various reasons, from the late 1530s onward, most private merchantmen that sailed between Venice and the Levant tended to terminate their eastwardly voyage in Cyprus, leaving the exchange of wares and means of payment between the island and the nearby coasts to local intermediaries and seamen.[38] This new procedure must have originated during the war with the Ottomans that lasted between the years 1537–41, when it was impossible for ships flying the Venetian flag to sail into Ottoman ports. It developed into a regular pattern in later years, arguably resulting from a combination of several factors: the desire to reduce the costs of maintaining big vessels and their crews overseas by shortening the duration of crossings; to save on the costs of anchorage taxes in the Syrian ports and the bribes to Ottoman officials; and to avoid the risks related to natural and human threats involved in sailing between Cyprus and the Levantine coasts; and as well, there were greater possibilities to load cotton in Cyprus, instead of Syria.[39] Even precious wares, such as silk and spices, which were intended for transportation aboard merchant galleys, were sometimes brought to Cyprus by local vessels, to be loaded on the galleys there.[40] This phenomenon reached greater proportions during the last two decades of the Venetian rule over of Cyprus, when the galleys of the Beirut line did not continue on to Syria every year.[41] At any rate, as a result of this change, a more intensive regional trade developed between the island and the port towns of Syria and Palestine. Evidence for this development can be found in the correspondence of the Venetian merchant Andrea Berengo, who was active in Aleppo in the mid 1550s.[42]

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37 Sanuto, *I diarii*, VI, 212, 284 (August 1505 and January 1506).

38 Lane, "Venetian Shipping", 17; Hocquet's claim that no Venetian ship sailed beyond Cyprus after the mid-sixteenth century (*Le sel et la fortune de Venise*, II, 439) is somewhat exaggerated. On the basis of Andrea Berengo's correspondence, Tamar Erez has found that in the years covered by this correspondence (1553–56), 7 out of 22 Venetian ships that are mentioned there as reaching Cyprus continued or were expected to continue their voyage to Tripoli: T. Erez, *Aleppo, A Center of Venetian Levant Trade as recorded in the Letters of a Venetian Merchant, Andrea Berengo (1555–1556)* (Master Degree in Humanities diss., Tel Aviv University, 1992), 131 [in Hebrew]. For Berengo's correspondence, see below, note 42.

39 Arbel, "He Kypros hypo henetike kyriarkhia", 505, 523–24.

40 Arbel, "Venetian Cyprus and the Muslim Levant", 170 and note 78 (silk transported by Cypriot vessels to Cyprus by Cypriot vessels, 1505, 1542); for spices: ASV, Senato Mar, reg. 23, f. 34 (the wreck of Cypriot vessels carrying spices from Syria to Cyprus, 1534).

41 See above, note 26.

42 See, for example, Andrea Berengo's letter to his agent in Tripoli on 11 May 1556, in which he provides two alternative addressees for wares shipped to Cyprus, depending on whether the vessel would sail to Famagusta or to Saline, U. Tucci, ed., *Lettres d'un marchand vénitien. Andrea Berengo (1553–1556)* (Paris: SEVPEN, 1957), No. 208. One of Berengo's main correspondents was Marcantonio Angussola, chancellor of the Captain of Famagusta, See the index, *s.v.*, and also Erez, *Aleppo*, 144.

Noteworthy in this respect is also the report on competition between different Syrian ports in trying to attract Cypriot vessels and pay customs dues there. Thus, in 1564, the customs administrator (Nāẓir) of the port of Tripoli organized an attack against Cypriot boats heading for other ports on the Syrian coast, attempting to force them to use Tripoli as their port of call.[43] The activity of Cypriot vessels is also attested in Alexandria during the same period.[44]

A few petitions presented to the Venetian authorities by seamen who were active in Famagusta mainly concern their involvement in passenger transportation and food supply, which should also be borne in mind when dealing with the maritime activities in Famagusta's harbour. Thus, a certain Antonio Cassan of Famagusta transported pilgrims to Jaffa in 1521.[45] Helias Bergas, another inhabitant of Famagusta, imported grains from Syria in the 1540s on board his galleon.[46] Abrayn Bergas claimed in 1553 to have spent his youth in sailing to Syria and to have lost two vessels that were employed in transporting grains to Famagusta.[47] A certain Toma of Famagusta operated, together with his partner Calzeran Maturo from Nicosia, a small vessel that sailed regularly between Cyprus and Syria in the mid 1550s.[48] In his letter sent from Famagusta in 1563, Elijah of Pesaro noted that one could take a boat sailing from Famagusta to Acre or to Jaffa on every Tuesday or Wednesday.[49] Besides, we should not forget that the harbour of Famagusta also served for maritime connections with other parts of Cyprus.[50]

The names of some of the above-mentioned Famagustan seamen hint at an oriental, presumably Syrian, background. The town's governor reported in 1553 that a great part of Famagusta's 8,000 inhabitants were of Syrian origin,[51] which also explains their involvement in sailings between Cyprus and the Levantine coasts. This regional trade, carried out on small vessels, was to a great extent based in Famagusta's harbour, the security provided by which was of much greater importance to small boats compared to the big Venetian merchantmen and merchant galleys.[52]

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43 ASV, Collegio, Relazioni, busta 31, letters of Andrea Malipiero, consul in Aleppo, f. 77.

44 Lorenzo Tiepolo, *Relazione dei consolati di Alessandria e di Soria da lui tenuti per la Veneta Repubblica negli anni 1552–1560*, ed. E. Cicogna (Venice, 1857), 25–26.

45 Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXX, 250, 303.

46 ASV, Senato Mar, filza 6 (1549).

47 Ibid., filza 16.

48 Erez, *Aleppo*, 145.

49 Goldberg and Adelman, "Voyage de Venise à Famagouste", 18.

50 E.g. ASV, Collegio, Relazioni, b. 84, Domenico Trevisan (1561), f. 11v (transportation of soldiers who were dismissed from service in 1560 from Famagusta to Saline in a *barca a posta*); ibid., ff. 19v–20 (3 vessels from Famagusta carrying wheat from the Carpas); ASV, Collegio, Relazioni, busta 62–II, Pandolfo Guro (1563), f. 131 (wheat transported from Paphos to Famagusta by sea).

51 See above, note 33.

52 See the testimony of Elijah of Pesaro on summer as the "high season" of the activities of Maltese pirates in this region, Goldberg and Adleman, "Voyage de Venise à Famagouste", p. 18.

The maritime activity between Famagusta and the nearby Syrian coasts also involved crafts whose base of operation was in Syria: the town's governor (*Capitano*), Troylo Malipiero, reported in June 1500 that four boats (*barche*) belonging to oriental Christians (*cristiani di la cintura*) reached Famagusta from Tripoli at the beginning of that month. His successor, Lorenzo Contarini wrote in his dispatch of 5 September 1501 that boats belonging to Syrians (*barche de' suriani*) arrived there every day to conduct business activities with local inhabitants.[53] The reports of Venetian governors indicate that such frequent visits continued even after the Ottoman conquest of Syria. Governor Andrea Dandolo attested in 1548 that "...an infinite number of boats come to this port, being the only secure one, and one has to provide for their needs continuously", whereas Lorenzo Bembo wrote in 1568 that "Turkish vessels can be found at any time in the port of Famagusta with Turks and peoples of other nations, such as Syrians, Copts and Armenians...."[54]

In view of this development it is not surprising that although the big merchantmen continued to prefer Saline as their main Cypriot anchorage, at least part if not most of the goods intended for transhipment were kept in storehouses in well-protected Famagusta. In 1563, Famagusta's governor reported that the value of wares kept in these storehouses ranged between 100,000 and 500,000 ducats.[55] Consequently, it can be surmised that the activity of small crafts connecting Famagusta with Saline, for loading such goods on ships sailing to Venice and vice-versa, must have increased.

Although the port of Famagusta was preponderantly used by vessels belonging to Venetian, Mamluk and Ottoman subjects, visits of ships of other western nations are sometimes documented as well, though not frequently. For example, the town's governor reported in 5 September 1501 on the arrival of a Genoese and a French ship, on their way from Tripoli to Egypt.[56] In 1514, when piratical activity risked harming commercial shipping in this region, another Genoese ship found shelter in Famagusta's harbour.[57] During the wars with the Ottomans, foreign ships played a certain role in the maritime connections with the nearby coasts.[58]

To conclude: compared to the pre-Venetian period, the link to a leading maritime power from 1474 onward undoubtedly resulted in an enhancement of Famagusta's role in international trade, though not on a scale comparable to the one observed dur-

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53 Sanuto, *I diarii*, IV, 486.

54 ASV, Collegio, Relazioni, busta 61-II, Andrea Dandolo (1548), f. 67; ibid., busta 84, relazione Lorenzo Bembo (1568), f. 10v. A Turkish ship was repaired in the arsenal of Famagusta in 1521, Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXX, 111. The town's governor, Domenico Trevisan, mentioned in his *relazione* having brought some hand mills from a Turkish ship that happened to be in Famagusta, ASV, Collegio, Relazioni, busta 84, Domenico Trevisan (1561), f. 8.

55 Arbel, "Venetian Cyprus and the Muslim Levant", 170.

56 Sanuto, *I diarii*, IV, 486.

57 Aristeidou, *Anekdota engrapha*, II, 175.

58 Arbel, "Operating Trading Networks", 31.

ing some decades in the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth century. The role of Cypriot salt in Venice's colonial economy was decisive in transforming Saline into the main mooring point of Venetian ships sailing to the eastern Mediterranean. Famagusta's safe harbour mainly offered protection for smaller, local vessels. Galleys, which normally sailed in convoy, were protected by their big crews and heavy weapons, and were also sometimes escorted by military galleys.[59] Consequently, they were rarely, if ever, subject to piratical attacks. For during the period when the Beirut galleys were sent to the eastern Mediterranean, Famagusta mainly served them as an advanced information centre on their way eastward, and as a haven that could also offer better mooring conditions in case of an unpredicted prolonged stay caused by unfavourable conditions in the ports of the Islamic Levant.[60]

Besides, with the passing of time, the technology of shipbuilding and the capacity of big merchantmen to protect themselves improved considerably, which eventually was one of the factors that brought about the abandonment of the system of merchant galleys as a basic element of Venice's Levant trade.[61] The rather irregular sailings of the Beirut line in the 1550s and 1560s reflect this development. But Famagusta, despite the advantage of its secure harbour, was unable to compete successfully with Saline in attracting the big Venetian merchantmen. It had to satisfy itself with the periodic visits of galleys on the outward voyage, the presence of a small squadron of war galleys (which had an important role in protecting commercial shipping around the island), and its function as a base of regional trade carried on board small local and Syrian crafts.

It was precisely this last function which enhanced the importance of Famagusta's harbour during the last thirty to thirty-five years of Venetian rule, as a result of the new organization of Venice's commercial shipping in this region, in which Cyprus often constituted a last station in the maritime routes leading to the eastern Mediterranean. Under such circumstances, and until the Ottoman conquest, Cyprus's role as an emporium in the commercial relations between Venice and the eastern Mediterranean became more important, as did the role of small local vessels that used Famagusta as their harbour. The demographic development that brought Famagusta's population to some 10,000 inhabitants at the close of Venetian rule (a population comparable to that of Bristol and Leipzig during the same period) may be related to this "Indian summer" of the commercial activities in Venetian Famagusta.[62]

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59 E.g. Sanuto, *I diarii*, II, 87 (November 1498). See also Lane, *Navires et constructeurs*, 5.

60 Sanuto, *I diarii*, XXIV, 256 (referring to March 1517, during the Ottoman conquest of the Mamluk Sultanate).

61 Lane, "Venetian Shipping", 12.

62 Arbel, "Cypriot Population", 200; cf. Jan de Vries, *European Urbanization, 1500–1800* (London: Methuen, 1984), 270, 273.

Section Two: Material Culture

MADE IN CYPRUS? FOURTEENTH-CENTURY MAMLUK METAL WARE FOR THE WEST – THE QUESTION OF PROVENANCE[1]

Ulrike Ritzerfeld

The problem of the origin of so-called "Veneto-Saracenic" metal ware remains unresolved to this day. The provenance of these objects, different in shape and decoration from the mainstream of Islamic metalwork, has been a subject of controversy ever since they attracted scholarly attention.[2] The appellation "Veneto-Saracenic" was coined to categorize this particular group of items because they were first thought to be the product of a Muslim workshop in Venice during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Nineteenth-century collectors in Italy, especially in Venice, discovered large numbers of especially fine brass vessels, some of them with European forms and many with European shields, but inlaid with gold and silver, a Middle Eastern technique, and decorated in an unconventional style of arabesque. In an attempt to explain this culturally hybrid appearance, it was suggested that a colony of immigrant Arab craftsmen resident in Venice was responsible for inlaying metal vessels for local patrons. This theory persisted up until the 1980s but has been dismissed on the grounds that the labour situation in Venice would not have allowed such an intrusion.[3] Today it is generally accepted that "Veneto-Saracenic" objects were actually commissioned by Italian merchants

[1] Research for this paper was made possible by a fellowship of the Deutsche Studienzentrum Venedig. I am also obliged to Nicholas Coureas for his constructive suggestions.

[2] For the history and bibliography of the debate see D. Behrens-Abouseif, "Veneto-Saracenic Metalware, a Mamluk Art", in *Mamluk Studies Review* 9, 2 (2005), 147–172; J. Allan, "Veneto-Saracenic Metalwork: The Problems of Provenance", in *Arte veneziana e arte islamica*, *atti del Primo simposio internazionale sull'arte veneziana e l'arte islamica, (held in Venice in 1986)* (Venice, 1989), 167–183, here 167–168; idem, *Metalwork of the Islamic World in the Aron Collection* (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1986); S. Auld, *"Veneto-Saracenic" Metalwork, Objects and History* (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 1989), 13–18; A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Venise, entre l'Orient et l'Occident", in *Bulletin d' études orientales* 27 (1974): 1–18, esp. 1–2; L. A. Mayer, *Islamic Metalworkers and their Works* (Geneva: Kundig, 1959), 56–58.

[3] Hans Huth in an article published in 1972 rejected the possibility of a Muslim workshop operating in Venice at that time. H. Huth, "'Sarazenen' in Venedig?", in *Festschrift für Heinz Ladendorf,* ed. P. Bloch and G. Zick (Köln/Vienna: Böhlau, 1972), 58–68.

based in the Middle East. The art of metalwork was modernized and westernized on their initiative with the aim of exporting such artefacts to Europe. But the exact location of production is still controversial: Sub-groups or objects by certain artists have been attributed to Western Iran or Anatolia or to Mamluk production in Damascus or Cairo.[4] Nonetheless, in 2005 Doris Behrens-Abouseif came to the conclusion that the question of a more exact provenance of the "Veneto-Saracenic" metalwork needed further investigation.[5] In this paper the issue of origin will be investigated and discussed for a group of very precious and culturally hybrid metal objects of the fourteenth century. It will be argued that during the reign of Hugh IV Cyprus in general, and Famagusta in particular, is a possible location for workshops producing such hybrid metal objects of Mamluk tradition.

In contrast to the case of the metal ware of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, the provenance of earlier metal commodities of Mamluk tradition made for export to the West has not been widely discussed. There are few culturally hybrid items known from the fourteenth century. Some of them simply combine a traditional Mamluk decorative pattern with western coats of arms, which were added later, probably in Italy.[6] But there is a small group of especially precious objects with inlaid decoration of a particularly hybrid appearance, mixing eastern and western traditions and carrying political and ideological messages to some extent.[7] Among them are four large vessels, grouped by Rachel Ward—and further items of a similar appearance can be linked to them—as comparable in size, shape, technique, style, patronage, and date.[8] Inscriptions on the vessel in the Louvre declare that it was produced for King Hugh IV de Lusignan of Cyprus (1324–1359), while the coats of arms on the basin in the Rijkmuseum in Amsterdam impart the information that it was manufactured for Elisabeth of Carin-

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4 Cf. Allan, *Veneto-Saracenic Metalwork*, 168-170; Melikian-Chirvani, "Venise entre l'Orient et l'Occident"; Rachel Ward, *Islamic Metalwork* (London: British Museum Press, 1993), 102; Rachel Ward et al., "Veneto-Saracenic Metalworks: An Analysis of the Bowls and Incense Burners in the British Museum", in *Trade and Discovery: The Scientific Study of Artefacts from Post-Medieval Europe and Beyond*, ed. D. Hook and D. Gaimster (London: Department of Scientific Research, British Museum, 1995), 235–57; S. Canby, *The Golden Age of Persian Art (1501–1722)* (London: British Museum Press, 1999), 21; S. Auld, *Renaissance Venice, Islam and Mahmud the Kurd: A Metalworking Enigma* (London: Altajir World of Islam Trust, 2004), 11–35.

5 Behrens-Abouseif, "Veneto-Saracenic Metalware", 158.

6 R. Ward, "Metallarbeiten der Mamluken-Zeit, hergestellt für den Export nach Europa", in *Europa und der Orient: 800–1900*, ed. G. Sivernich (Gütersloh, 1989), 202-209; idem, *Islamic Metalwork* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1993), 113–116; R. Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 139–40.

7 For a detailed discussion of the pieces of this group see the forthcoming publication by Ulrike Ritzerfeld, "The Language of Power: Transgressing Borders in Luxury Metal Objects of the Lusignan", in *Cyprus in Medieval Times: A Place of Cultural Encounter*, ed. M. Grünbart and S. Rogge (Münster, 2014).

8 See R. Ward, "The 'Baptistère de Saint Louis' – a Mamluk Basin made for Export to Europe", in *Islam and the Italian Renaissance*, ed. C. Burnett and A. Contadini (London: The Warburg Institute, 1999), 113–32.

thia, the wife of the Sicilian king Peter II (1321 or 1337–1342) (fig. 2 and 4).[9] A tray in the Louvre and a little basin of unknown location sold at Christie's bear the coat of arms of the Lusignan family of Cyprus and presumably were also made for King Hugh (fig. 3).[10] The same probably holds true for the famous so-called "Baptistère de Saint Louis" and possibly also for the bowl in the Louvre from the Vasselot bequest, both signed by the craftsman Muhammad Ibn al-Zayn, as well as for a vessel in the L. A. Mayer Memorial Institute in Jerusalem probably from the same hand or workshop (fig. 6, 9, 10).[11] The decoration of these objects can combine traditional Mamluk elements like lengthy inscriptions and floral decorations with western coats of arms, unusual Arabic inscriptions, Latin or French inscriptions or figurative scenes. Some of these highly

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9 For the basin of King Hugh in the Louvre (MAO 101) see S. Makariou, "Bassin au nom d'Hugues de Lusignan et aux armes des Ibelin et de Jérusalem", in *Chypre entre Byzance et l'Occident IVe–XVIe siècle*, ed. J. Durand and D. Giovannoni, Exhibition catalog, No. 98 (Paris, Musée du Louvre, 2012), 212; idem, "Dinanderie des Lusignan de Chypre", in *Les Arts de l'Islam au Musée du Louvre* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2012), 268–270; U. Ritzerfeld, "Mamlukische Metallkunst für mediterrane Eliten – Grenzüberschreitungen in Luxus und Machtrhetorik", in *Integration und Desintegration der Kulturen im europäischen Mittelalter,* ed. M. Borgolte et al. (Berlin: Akademieverlag, 2011), 523–40, esp. 527–29, 534–36; A. Weyl-Carr, "Art in the Court of the Lusignan Kings", in *Crusading Cultures*, ed. A. Jotischky (The Crusades. Critical Concepts in Historical Studies), 4 vols. (London/New York: Routledge, 2008), IV, 302–38, esp. 246–50; J. Schryver, *Spheres of Contact and Instances of Interaction in the Art and Archaeology of Frankish Cyprus, 1191–1359* (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2005), 164–77; H. D'Allemagne, "A Note on a Brass Basin Made for Hugh IV, King of Cyprus 1324–1361", in Camille Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus* (London: Trigraph 1987), 511–19; *Calligraphy in the Arts of the Muslim World*, ed. A. Welch, Exhibition Catalog, 84 (New York: Asia House Gallery, 1979); D. Rice, "Arabic Inscriptions on a Brass Basin made for Hugh IV de Lusignan", in *Studi Orientalistici in Onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*, 2 vols. (Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente: Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente, 1956), II, 390–402.

For the vessel in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (N.M. 7474) see O. Ter Kuile, *Koper & Brons. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam* ('s-Gravenhage: Staatsuitg., 1986); J. De Hond and L. Mols, "A Mamluk Basin for a Sicilian Queen", *The Rijks Museum Bulletin* 59 (2011), 1, 6–33; Ritzerfeld, "Mamlukische Metallkunst", 531–32, 536–38.

10 The little basin bears the so-called "old coat of arms" of the Lusignans, while the one on the tray shows the coat of arms of the family. Cf. J.-B. De Vaivre, "Le décor héraldique sur les monuments médiévaux", in *L'Art gothique en Chypre,* ed. J.-B. Vaivre and P. Plagnieux (Paris: De Boccard, 2006), 426-472, esp. 432. For the platter in the Louvre (MAO 1227) see S. Makariou, "Plateau aux armes 'Lusignan ancient'", in *Chypre entre Byzance et l'Occident IVe–XVIe siècle*, ed. J. Durand and D. Giovannoni, Exhibition catalog No. 99 (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2012), 214; idem, "Plateau aux armes des Lusignan", in *Nouvelles Acquisitions, Arts de l'Islam 1988-2001*, ed. S. Makariou, Exhibition catalog (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2002)., 41–44; idem, *Two Objects Made by the Mamluks for the Lusignan Kings*, Exhibition Flyer (Nicosia, The Leventis Municipal Museum, 2000). To my knowledge the little bowl has only been mentioned and never discussed. It seems to have been sold at Christie's in 1950 or in 1966, as lot 134. Mack, *Bazaar*, 213, note 3. A photograph of the vessel is published in W. Rüdt de Collenberg, "L'Héraldique de Chypre", *Cahiers d'Héraldique* 3 (1977), 85–158, fig. 41.

11 For the objects by Muhammad ibn al-Zayn see S. Makariou, "Baptistère de Saint Louis", in *Les Arts de l'Islam au Musée du Louvre* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2012), 282–88; J. Allan, "Muhammad ibn al-Zain: Craftsman in Cups, Thrones and Window Grilles?", *Levant* 28 (1996), 199–208; E. Atil, *Renaissance of Islam, Art of the Mamluks* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1981), nos. 20 and 21, 74–75, 76–79. For the vessel in the L. A. Mayer Institute in Jerusalem (M. 58) see J. Bloom, "A Mamluk Basin in the L. A. Mayer Memorial Institute", *Islamic Art* 2 (1987), 15–26.

exceptional items have not been studied at all, like the little basin mentioned above.[12] Others, especially the Baptistère de Saint Louis, have been widely discussed, but without convincing conclusions to date.[13] They are generally supposed to have been manufactured in Mamluk territories on the order of foreign patrons or as gifts for them from the Mamluk nobility. But when all has been said their appearance, their background and their use still remain an enigma. What appears to be clear is firstly that these luxury objects are to be dated between the third decade and the middle of the fourteenth century and, secondly, that they were made for members of the European elite.[14] As in the case of the later "Veneto-Saracenic" metal ware the uncommon appearance of this group of hybrid metal items raises a number of questions regarding their emergence and genesis, the origin of the craftsmen and the regular practices of the workshops, the availability of raw materials in the fourteenth century as well as the political situation and connections between East and West in the medieval Mediterranean.

Metal Ware Production in Cairo and Damascus

Generally Cairo and Damascus are assumed to have been the centers of production of inlaid metal ware in the Mamluk territories, but it is difficult to tell their products apart. The inlay technique had become established in Damascus during the Ayyubid period and seems to have spread to Cairo during the second half of the thirteenth century, probably in response to the demand of the Mamluk court. We know from references in the literary sources as well as from inscriptions on portable objects of some very fine items made in Cairo for the Mamluk ruling class or for export to the sultans of the Rasulids in Yemen.[15] In the Mamluk capital of the fourteenth century the workshops were located under the citadel. Here resided the richest and most important Mamluk officials, the clients of luxury metal ware which average people probably could not afford to buy.[16] The vicinity to the Mamluk court must have been very advantageous, if not decisive for the production in Cairo. The city was exempted from the dev-

12 Cf. note 10.

13 To name only some of the most important publications: D. Rice, "The Blazons of the Baptistère de Saint Louis", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 13/ 2 (1950), 367–80; idem, *Le Baptistère de Saint Louis* (Paris: Éditions du Chêne, 1951); R. Ettinghausen, review of D. S. Rice, "The Baptistère de Saint Louis, a Masterpiece of Islamic Metalwork", *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954), 245–49; D. Behrens-Abouseif, "The Baptistère de Saint Louis: A Reinterpretation", in *Islamic Art* 3 (1989), 3–13; Ward, "The Baptistère", 113–32; S. Makariou, *Le baptistère de Saint Louis* (Paris: Somogy, 2012).

14 The form of the objects as well as the details of the decoration in the form of lotus flowers and radiating inscriptions and, especially in the case of the objects of Muhammad ibn al-Zayn, the vigorous style suggest a similar dating for all the items of this group. Cf. Makariou, *Nouvelles acquisitions*, 41–44.

15 Ward, "The Baptistère"; L. Mols, *Mamluk Metalwork Fittings in their Artistic and Architectural Context* (Delft: Eburon Academic Publ., 2006), 156, esp. note 115.

16 Cf. E. Baer, "Mamluk Art and its Clientele: A Speculation", in *Assaph* B, 8 (2003): 49–70.

astating physical damage inflicted by Crusaders, Mongols, and Timurids, from which other centers as Aleppo, Jerusalem and Damascus had to recover. Therefore money could flow to luxury items.

But descriptions of historians and pilgrims of the market of Damascus indicate that the workshops of this city must have been even more important, at least in quantity, for the production of fine inlaid brass objects. The historian Al-Maqrīzī reports of a commission of 100 brass candlesticks in the name of Sultan al-Ashraf ibn Qalawun (1290–1293) inlaid with his titles, in addition to 50 golden and 50 silver ones.[17] At Damascus the inlayers' markets ran along the south wall of the Umayyad Mosque. The Italian pilgrim Simone Sigoli who visited Egypt and Syria in 1384 describes the markets of Damascus and the famous metal ware: "Here also is made a great deal of brass basins and jugs, and really they appear of gold, and then on the said basins and jugs are made figures and foliage and other fine work in silver, so that it is a very beautiful thing to see".[18] In his account of a Cairene wedding he mentions the bride sitting on the bed with a very beautiful basin from Damascus ("*bacino bellissimo di dommasco*") by her side, into which the women guests put presents, and he describes elaborate basins and jugs from Damascus, which he found the most beautiful of the world ("*bacini e le miscerobe di Dommasco lavorate, che sono veramente le più belle del mondo*") as part of her dowry.[19] Giorgio Gucci visited Damascus three years later where he saw all kinds of objects made of gold, silver, copper and brass.

Gucci visited Cairo too, and mentions the products of goldsmiths and jewelers, but he does not mention brassware.[20] Besides, access to Cairo was restricted for foreigners during the Mamluk period. European merchants and consuls were not allowed to dwell in the capital but were allocated large compounds, *funduq*s, in Alexandria, where only a limited amount of the Egyptian trade took place.[21] Furthermore, European inventories regularly describe items of metal ware as *domaschini* or *alla domascina*.[22]

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17 Ahmad B. Ali Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-mawā'iẓ wa l'i tibār bi-dhikr al-khitat wa 'l-āthār* (Bulaq: 1853), 112.

18 "Ancora vi si fa grande quantità di bacini a mescirobe d'ottone, e propriamente paiono d'oro, e poi ne'detti bacini e mescirobe vi si fanno figure e fogliami e altri lavorii sottili in ariento (scil.: argento), ch'è una bellissima cosa a vedere". Simone Sigoli, *Viaggio al Monte Sinai* (Florence 1829), p. 59. English translation from, *Visit to the Holy Places of Egypt, Sinai, Palestine and Syria in 1384 by Frescobaldi, Gucci and Sigoli*, trans. T. Bellorini and E. Hoade (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1948), 182.

19 Sigoli, *Viaggio*, 22–24.

20 G. Gucci, "Pilgrimage of Giorgio Gucci to the Holy Places", in *Visit to the Holy Places of Egypt, Sinai, Palestine and Syria in 1384 by Frescobaldi, Gucci and Sigoli*, trans. T. Bellorini and E. Hoade (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1948), 91–156, here 140, 142–43.

21 Restrictions seem to have been relaxed in the fifteenth century during the reign of Sultan Qaytbay, whose court appears to have included a number of Europeans and Mamluks of European origin. See D. Behrens-Abouseif, "European Arts and Crafts at the Mamluk Court", in *Essays in Honor of J. M. Rogers*, ed. D. Behrens-Abouseif, and A. Contadini (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 45–54, here 49–50.

22 See M. Spallanzani, "Metalli Islamici nelle Raccolte Medicee da Cosimo I a Ferdinando I", in *Le Arti del Principato Mediceo*, ed. C. Adelson (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1980), 95–115, esp. 106; R. Mack, *Bazaar*, 144.

Research by Howard on inventories of merchants living in Damascus show that these descriptions are likely to be accurate indicators of provenance as care was taken to differentiate the work of Damascus from other cities.[23] Still in the sixteenth century Giorgio Vasari praised the commodities from Damascus and mentioned imported utensils of bronze, brass and copper inlaid with gold and silver.[24]

One can conclude that metal ware production in Damascus at times produced a great quantity of elaborate objects, becoming famous even in Europe. In fact, it seems to have become so famous that the provenance from Damascus came to be regarded as a label of quality and value. It may be because this label was so greatly praised or simply so diffused that merchants in Europe used it to promote sales and the owners for display. So even if it does not prove that all such objects came from Syria, nonetheless it indicates the fact that precious metal work originated from Damascus in considerable quantities. It is for this reason that Rachel Ward reached the conclusion that the four big vessels she discussed were probably made in Damascus instead of Cairo.[25]

If, however, we consider the historical situation in the Near and Middle East, doubts regarding continued production in Cairo as well as Damascus seem well founded. Many craftsmen died in the plague which devastated the region in the second half of the fourteenth century. The political, social and economic turmoil from the end of the fourteenth through the first half of the fifteenth century resulted in recurrent shortages of copper, gold and silver, and made the supply of the necessary materials both irregular and expensive.[26] The decline in Mamluk patronage created a crisis of luxury production in Cairo. Workers in luxury crafts such as inlaid metalwork would have had to move or change occupation. The descriptions of the rich market of Damascus, on the other hand, create the impression that the plagues and decline of patronage do not appear to have had such a devastating impact on metalworkers of that city. They suggest that the bleak picture of the industry presented by Cairo-based historians was not true for Damascus. A lucrative European market could have compensated for the drastic decline in Mamluk spending power. In addition, Damascus seems to have been less badly affected by the metal shortages which beset Cairo, probably because European merchants were bringing in metals both for trade and as currency. Damascus was a favorite destination for European travelers during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and by the middle of the fifteenth century it had a sizeable group of European

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23 D. Howard, "Death in Damascus: Venetians in Syria in the Mid-Fifteenth Century", *Muqarnas* 20 (2003): 143–57; F. Bianchi and D. Howard, "Life and Death in Damascus: The Material Culture of Venetians in the Syrian Capital in the Mid-fifteenth Century", *Studi Veneziani* 46 (2003): 234–302.

24 G. Vasari, *Le Opere*, ed. G. Milanesi (Florence 1878), vol. 8, 211.

25 Ward, "The Baptistère", esp. 121–23.

26 J. Allan, "Sha'ban, Barquq, and the Decline of the Mamluk Metalworking Industry", in *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 85–94.

residents.[27] But Timur's conquest of Damascus in 1401 must have affected this thriving industry at least for a certain period.

Even on previous occasions there were events which interfered with the commercial dealings between Western Europe and the Mamluks. The export of strategic materials such as weapons, iron or timber to the Mamluk lands from Cyprus, which was geographically so close to these territories, gave cause for concern from the middle of the thirteenth century and possibly even earlier. From around 1250 to 1350 the Papacy and the Latin Church of Cyprus tried to stop and subsequently simply to restrict trade between Cyprus and the Mamluk lands. One notes in this context that even visits to the Holy Land by pilgrims from the West and even Cyprus were restricted during the first half of the fourteenth century. Both ecclesiastical and secular authorities exerted themselves considerably to prevent the export of strategic commodities and to prevent Christians from serving on Muslim ships. This aim assumed a particular urgency in the second half of the thirteenth century, when the Muslims of the Near and Middle East began to import iron and timber from Latin merchants to an ever increasing extent in order to construct galleys, siege-engines and a variety of other weapons. Following the capture of the last major Latin holdings on the coastline of Palestine and Syria, Acre and Tyre, by the armies of the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf ibn Qalawun (1290–1293) in 1291, Pope Nicholas IV promulgated a bull prohibiting all Christians, on pain of excommunication, from trade with Alexandria and Egypt. His successors continued and intensified this policy, including the additional penalty of confiscation of the goods. These penalties, however, did not stop Latin and other Christians from trading with the Muslim lands as they had previously. Initially, contacts were condemned outright. Indeed, such condemnations received a new impetus after the Muslim capture of Acre and Tyre. The proximity of Cyprus to Mamluk Egypt and Syria, as well as the ability and readiness of the Cypriots and other Christians to journey there with or even without papal permission, made blanket prohibition of trade and pilgrimages a lost cause. Over time the Papacy and the Latin Church of Cyprus gradually relaxed the prohibitions on trading with and visiting these lands. Furthermore, this change of tactics gathered momentum from the 1340s onwards due to changes in the international trading patterns. Therefore both local and external factors compelled the papacy and the Latin Church of Cyprus, its local representative, to change their policies. As a result of this, instead of banning contacts with the Mamluk lands of Egypt and Syria, the Roman Catholic Church eventually sought simply to control them.[28]

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27 Bianchi and Howard, "Life and Death", 234–302.

28 N. Coureas, "Controlled Contacts: The Papacy, the Latin Church of Cyprus and Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1350", in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, ed. U. Vermeulen and J. van Steenbergen, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 140 (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 395–408.

As soon as the ban was lifted in 1344, trade with the Mamluk Empire intensified.[29] The trading operations were then run from Alexandria. It was not until the last quarter of the fourteenth century that relations between European countries and the Mamluk Empire became stable enough to establish larger trading bases elsewhere. The Venetians were anxious to establish trading links with the Mamluks, especially after alternative access points to oriental goods via Little Armenia and the Crimea were cut off.[30] However, the capture of Tripoli by the Genoese in 1355 and the crusade launched from Cyprus in 1365 seems to have placed all Europeans under suspicion, which made trade difficult.[31] The first sailing to Syrian ports after this crusade was in 1366 but fear of another crusade led to merchants and their goods being seized.[32] By the 1380s there were regular sailings from Venice to Beirut and a substantial increase in trade directly with Syria. To cope with this increased activity, the Venetians expanded their base in Damascus. In fact the merchants were much freer in Damascus than anywhere else in the Mamluk Empire: they lived outside the *fondacos* in private houses furnished with local goods.[33] Their presence in the city and good local contacts enabled them to deal with craftsmen directly and to supply them with detailed instructions of their requirements. These conditions resulted in an adaptation of the objects of metal ware in form and style in line with European standards and traditions, as Rachel Ward has shown, and in an increasing production for the European market.[34]

However, difficult relations, especially in the late thirteenth century and during the first half of the fourteenth century must have limited individual European commissions in this early period. In fact, there are not many known examples of fine inlaid metal items datable in the time of the embargo, when the European market seems to have had little impact on metal ware production. There are some objects which combine Mamluk decoration with Italian coats of arms, which were probably produced in this period. It has been supposed that they were originally intended for the Mamluk elite and wider Islamic circles, making their way to Europe with merchants slipping

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29 F. Lane, "The Venetian Galleys to Alexandria, 1344", in *Wirtschaftskräfte und Wirtschaftswege: Festschrift für Hermann Kellenbenz*, vol. 1: *Mittelmeer und Kontinent*, ed. J. Schneider (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1978), 431–40.

30 E. Ashtor, "L'Exportation des textiles occidentaux dans le Proche Orient musulman au bas Moyen Age (1370–1517)", in *Studi in memoria di Federigo Melis*, ed. L. De Rosa, 5 vols (Naples: Giannini, 1978), vol. 2, 303–77, esp. 306–7.

31 E. Ashtor, "Observations on Venetian Trade in the Levant in the XIVth Century", *Journal of European Economic History* 5 (1976): 533–86, esp. 541–50.

32 Ashtor, "Observations", 553–58.

33 Mack, *Bazaar*, 21; Ashtor, "Observations", 553.

34 R. Ward, "Plugging the Gap: Mamluk Export Metalwork 1375-1475", in *Facts and Artefacts. Art in the Islamic World*, ed. A. Hagedorn and A. Shalem (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2007), 263–75.

through the embargo.[35] But, as we have seen before, the group of items discussed here was made for European rulers. This fact raises the question of whether in a period of troubled and restricted relations and trade with the dreaded Mamluk state members of the political European elite did indeed commission metal ware from workshops in Mamluk lands or receive it as a gift from Mamluk nobles.

Prime Materials and Manufacturing Processes

Given the fact that the import of metals from the West was being (partly) blocked for a fairly long time by the embargo, one asks firstly if there were enough resources for the production of elaborate metalwork of brass, bronze, silver and gold in Mamluk territories. The Mamluks for the most part were highly dependent upon imports of metals, as the yield of the mines that were still in use within their territories was too small to meet the demand.[36] Gold was extracted in the desert in the south of Egypt and came from West Sudan and Ethiopia, and in the fifteenth century it was imported from the Venetians. For silver, the Mamluks relied mainly on Europe. It came via the Venetians from Bosnia and Serbia. A mixture of copper and zinc is needed for the production of brass, complemented with tin and lead, in case the metalworker wanted to employ the casting technique. There was a copper mine to the west of Aleppo, but its returns were poor. Great quantities of copper were bought by the Venetians from Serbia, Bosnia, Hungary, Spain, Austria, Portugal, Central Germany, Flanders and the Netherlands, as well as from the Black Sea. Cyprus was famous for its copper.[37] Tin came from Cornwall and Germany via Venetian, Catalan and Genoese traders. Venetians shipped lead to the Levant from Bosnia and Serbia, while Catalans traded it from England to Egypt and Syria. Lead was also imported from Cyprus.[38] Given the fact that in these metals the Mamluks were mostly dependent on imports from Europe, the papal embargo must have created at least some additional difficulties in getting the necessary resources for the production of metal ware. Now we know of several objects made for the Mamluk elite under Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad (1293–1341 with two interruptions). One can conclude that there must have been pri-

35 There is for example a dish to which arms, perhaps of the Pallavicini family of Venice, were added, with inscriptions and roundels containing figures. A bucket is decorated with inscriptions, whirling rosettes, bands of floral scrolls and running animals and large medallions containing Chinese-inspired lotus palmettes and attacking animals. The inscriptions on these pieces repeat standard phrases and titles honoring the owner or his high-ranking patron. Mack, *Bazaar*, 139–40.

36 See Mols, *Mamluk Metalwork*, 148–49.

37 Cf. T. Mansouri, *Chypre dans les sources arabes médiévales* (Nicosie: Centre de Recherche scientifique de Chypre, 2001).

38 Ibn Sasra, *A Chronicle of Damascus 1389-1397*, ed. W. M. Brinner, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), I, 162 and II, 121.

mary materials available, at least for the Mamluk emirs and the sultan. It seems rather improbable, however, that at times of scarcity of precious metals these would be worked for foreign clients or given away as gifts to political enemies.[39]

There are further points to consider regarding the production of metal ware. Little is known about the organization of metalworking workshops. In Mamluk sources different specializations are distinguished among craftsmen working in base or precious metals. Among those classified as working in brass, bronze or iron are founders, blacksmiths, casters or founders of brass or bronze, coppersmiths, hammerers, metalbeaters, tinners and workers in lead. The sources also mention those who specialized in decorating, or possibly engraving, the surface of objects. Gold- and silversmiths worked in moulding of gold, the manufacture of gold leaves, the gilding of base metals such as iron with gold or silver, silver applied with enamel and the drawing of gold thread. Precious and base metals were combined by the inlay workers. Some metalworkers mastered a variety of techniques in various materials. Others seem to have produced both portable objects and fittings, as for example Muhammad ibn al-Zayn, who signed three different objects varying in materials and techniques.[40] Workshops could house different specialists under one roof, who might have worked on the same object. Anthropological studies on metalworking businesses in Cairo and Damascus during the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century indicate a family-oriented business with hierarchical structures and specializations. Cooperation between different craftsmen appears, the master craftsman being responsible for making preliminary drawings for an object, others performing special tasks as engraving and inlaying.[41] Already Simone Sigoli described the craft of working gold as a hereditary arrangement that resulted in a highly specialized organization.[42]

Rules and regulations for ethical conduct on the part of the craftsmen and examples of possible misconduct are described in the *hisba* literature.[43] As the raw material was usually provided by the party responsible for ordering an object, it was common for clients to supervise the process for fear of being robbed by the craftsmen, whether by theft of the metals themselves or by their debasement. In the case of gold- and silversmiths, special warnings were issued about the secret addition of non-precious metals to melted gold or silver. This was to be prevented by the weighing of the metals in the presence of the customer before the melting process took place. To make sure that the process was fully observed, it was decreed that the furnace for melting should be

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39 Cairene workshops produced inlaid metal items as gifts or on commission for the Rasulid rulers of Yemen in the fourteenth century, but there existed close connections between the Mamluks and Yemen at that time which would explain the availability of fine metal items for the Rasulid rulers. See below.

40 Allan, "Muhammad ibn al-Zain", 199–208.

41 Mols, *Mamluk Metalwork*, 153–54.

42 Ibid., 150–54; Bellorini and Hoade, *Visit to the holy places*, 182.

43 A. Ghabin, *Hisba: Arts and Craft in Islam* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009).

well visible.[44] Such a direct contact between the Mamluk workshop and a Western customer or his merchant is hard to imagine in times of the embargo. It would have been especially difficult to organize commissions for special items under these conditions.[45] And, as we will see, our objects are very special in their decoration differing widely from Mamluk custom. Their unusual decorative pattern must have required not only an especially close collaboration of the highly specialized craftsmen, but also an intense contact between the workshop and its customer.

Mamluk Metal Ware and Its Decoration

The decoration of fine inlaid Mamluk metal objects mirrors their function for the owner. In general sumptuous Mamluk metal works were commissioned by the emirs, or by the Sultan for himself or as gifts to officials appointed to a new position.[46] We do not know much about the use of the exquisite basins. We have seen that Sigoli mentions them in his account of a wedding in Cairo describing the bride sitting on a bed with a vessel by her side into which the guests put presents and as part of her dowry.[47] In fact the reports of goldsmithing and silversmithing in *hisba* manuals reflect the extensive use of metal ware by the whole of society as a means of saving and investing. The medium served to form an important part of the marriage portion.[48] Because of their value and beauty the inlaid metal objects seem to have had a primarily representative function. The frequently chosen motif of a fish pond with water animals for the inner base of big vessels has led some scholars to conclude that the basins were used for hand washing before prayers and meals. They were indubitably luxury products and were probably not used everyday but displayed in festivities and rituals.[49] Decorated with laudatory inscriptions and signs of office of the owner, the objects represent his courtly and, therefore, his social standing, given the fact that in Mamluk society the status of a man was based on his position at court and his title and blazon could function as an image of his success and importance.[50] Thus the objects were highly decorative status symbols of the owner.[51] Such fourteenth-century Mamluk metal works are of a very sumptuous and lavish appearance (fig. 1). The entire surface of the objects is covered in minute decoration, engraved and inlayed with silver, gold and organic mate-

44 Mols, *Mamluk Metalwork*, 150.
45 Ward, "Metallarbeiten", 202.
46 Normal people probably could not afford such costly items. Cf. Baer, "Mamluk Art", 65; R. Ward, "Brass, Gold and Silver from Mamluk Egypt", *JRAS,* Series 3, 14/1 (2004): 59–73, esp. 68.
47 Sigoli, *Viaggio*, 22–24.
48 Gabin, *Hisba,* 257.
49 Mack, *Bazaar*, 5. Cf. Sigoli, *Viaggio*, 22–24.
50 K. Stowasser, "Manners and Customs at the Mamluk Court", *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 13–20.
51 Ward, *Islamic Metalwork*, 95–120; idem, "Brass, Gold and Silver", 68.

rials, and divided into friezes and roundels. Dominant features of the decoration of this period are the lengthy inscriptions in bands and medallions, mainly in *thulut*, glorifying and naming the owner, exalting his power and greatness. Heraldic devices of the owner appear, family blazons or signs of office such as a pen box for the chief secretary and a cup for the cupbearer. Roundels can bear inscriptions in *nashki*, displaying the owner's name and honorific titles or floral forms and spiral patterns.[52] Friezes of running animals, of lotus and peony blossom, and bands of geometrical forms embellish the object in small scale, while human figures are absent.

Questioning the Objects: Figural Decoration and Inscriptions

Compared to the Mamluk customary objects of the period, the fine objects discussed here – while corresponding in shape – are more or less different in terms of organization and partial lack of decorative patterns, the choice of figural motifs, the presence of uncommon inscriptions and blazons or the absence of lengthy inscriptions. The surface of almost all of the items lacks decoration in some sections. The basins in Amsterdam and Jerusalem do not even show traces of any inlay (fig. 4 and 10).[53] It is not clear whether they were not finished for some reason or they were planned to look this way. Even if the finishing of the two basins were abandoned, however, the decoration of the tray and the so-called Vasselot bowl includes bare sections as well as inlays, suggesting that in these cases not all of the surface was planned to be filled with decorations (fig. 3 and 9), which is unusual for Mamluk customary objects.[54]

Distinctive as regards the Baptistère and the Vasselot bowl signed by the same artist and as regards the basin in Jerusalem, probably made in the same workshop, is the complete lack of epigraphic bands and medallions (fig. 6, 9, 10). The dominant figurative motifs of these objects, rulers on a throne accompanied by members of court, hunting, fighting or playing musical instruments, are also (partly) present in the decoration of all of the other items but one, the vessel made for Hugh IV (fig. 2). Such motifs are difficult to find not only in Mamluk metal ware, but also in Mamluk art of the fourteenth century in general, because the decorative designs of the usual inlaid Mamluk metal ware have a stylistic vocabulary common to enameled glass, sculptured wood and ivory, stucco decoration and textiles.[55] In all of these media epigraphic decoration

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52 M. Gelber, "Reflections in Metal", *Assaph* 8 (2003): 71–84, esp. 75–76.

53 De Hond and Mols, "A Mamluk Basin", 10; Bloom, "A Mamluk Basin", 15. In the case of the basin in Jerusalem it may be that a crack in the brass was the reason for abandoning the project.

54 There are some other Mamluk metal items with bare sections known, which are generally thought to be unfinished.

55 Miniatures in Mamluk manuscripts are difficult to compare because the majority of illuminations in works from the Bahri period (1250-1390) are based on former examples, relying on compositions, figure types, and settings created in the first half of the thirteenth century. The provenance of very few works can be determined.

occupies a prominent place, usually displayed in large bands filled with elegant *thuluth* script, mostly accompanied by blazons. According to Rachel Ward, this style, which was introduced c. 1320, created a distinctive public face for the Mamluk regime.[56] Products of low social status, like pottery for example, are generally thought to mirror luxury artifacts like metal ware and enameled decorated glass.[57]

But there are earlier objects and monuments with decorations similar to our objects. In fact, scenes of rulers and their court, of hunting and fighting are traditional for earlier Islamic metal ware and we know from descriptions that comparable scenes existed in the thirteenth century in Mamluk courts.[58] There were two, now vanished, palaces in the Citadel of Cairo with figural representations on their walls. One is known as the Qubba Zahiriyya and was built by Sultan al-Zahir Baybars (1260–1276) in 1264. Figures of the sultan and his emirs were represented (painted?) on its interior walls. Maybe the scenes represented Baybars and his emirs and retinue in procession and they were part of a larger cycle of princely scenes. The military quality of the images has been stressed and the fact that Baybars preferred scenes of horsemen and warriors to surround him in his hall, unlike the Fatimid and Tulunid rulers before him who chose to portray themselves among singers and in drinking settings.[59] The second known example is the audience hall or *diwan* renovated by Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil (1290–1293). It had representations of his emirs, each with his own emblem above his head. They functioned probably as images of sovereignty, reflecting the political and military context of the Mamluk state.[60]

The early Mamluks employed figural art not only in public spaces, such as royal palaces, *hammams* and citadels, and in books that they donated as public *waqfs*, but also in their private residences and in illustrated books, which they usually kept for themselves. They even used images on temporary structures or models for celebratory purposes in processions and festivals.[61] But under the reign of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad (1293-1341 with two interruptions) figural and symbolic representations were abandoned and

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The manuscripts seem to have been made not for the elite, but for second-generation Mamluks. So there was a certain interest in manuscript illuminations among the upper classes, but no imperial patronage with an court studio housed in the capital as there had been during the last period of the Mamluk empire with the resulting flourishing of a new style. Esin Atil, "Mamluk Painting in the Late Fifteenth Century", *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 159–71, here 159.

56 Ward, "Brass, Gold and Silver", 68.

57 R. Gayraud, "Ceramics in the Mamluk Empire: An Overview", in *The Arts of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria – Evolution and Impact*, ed. D. Behrens-Abouseif (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2012), 77–94, esp. 88.

58 For the decoration of Islamic metal ware see Ward, *Islamic Metalwork* and E. Baer, *Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art* (Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 1983).

59 N. Rabbat, "In Search of a Triumphant Image: the Experimental Quality of Early Mamluk Art", in *The Arts of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria – Evolution and Impact*, ed. D. Behrens-Abouseif (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2012) 21–36, esp. 24–25.

60 Rabbat, "In Search of a Triumphant Image", 26.

61 Rabbat, "In Search of a Triumphant Image", 23.

images in royal buildings gave way to standardized inscriptions containing formulaic, fixed sultanic titulatures. This change had its impact in the mode of self-representation of the emirs. Textile panels with blazons and inscription bands of titles were positioned behind them when sitting in session.[62] Luxury products such as metal ware took up the new kind of decorative pattern. Inlaid Mamluk metal ware of the fourteenth century provides clear evidence that the Sultan and his emirs preferred their titles to form the main element of the decoration (fig. 1). Human figures began to disappear towards the end of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, being replaced by calligraphy and floral ornaments. In the second quarter of the fourteenth century they disappeared entirely.[63]

Nonetheless several elements in the decoration of the objects discussed here confirm their production during this period of triumphal calligraphy between the third decade and the middle of the fourteenth century.[64] Uncommon elements in the figural scenes show that they are not simply the replication of older models. The name of the craftsman Muhammad ibn al-Zayn appears on the Vasselot bowl and on the Baptistère, written on represented metal objects. On the bowl it is placed on a large cup held by a royal cup-bearer (fig. 9). On the Baptistère the name appears six times, which is unusual for Islamic art.[65] It is written on the rim, on cups and thrones (fig. 6 and 7). Thus the artist's name seems to have been intentionally placed on the different types of metal items Muhammad ibn al-Zayn produced in reality. This unusual self-representation of the artist combined with a demonstration of the wide range of his productive abilities is hard to imagine on a vessel for a Mamluk owner and indicates a self-conception foreign to Mamluk artists. The ambition to fashion his self-identity as an artist, and at the same time an attempt to diffuse his name as a label for beautiful commodities of quality, is obvious in the use of metal basins to spread his name, the kind of obsessive use of his signature and, as we will see later on, the creation of several workshops. These strategies signal an intentional drive to create visually significant evidence of his artistic identity and entrepreneurship.

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62 Ward, "Brass, Gold and Silver", 68.

63 Baer, "Mamluk Art", 58, 63.

64 Ward, "The Baptistère", 119–121. Apart from the inscriptions on the basin naming King Hugh of Cyprus there is the form of the large vessels which was very popular in that time, as was also the lotus flower motif present in the decoration of several of our objects. The use of radiating inscriptions as in the vessel for King Hugh IV had only just become the fashion in Mamluk metal work at the time of Hugh IV's accession. Rice, "Arabic Inscriptions", 400. The so-called old coat of arms of the Lusignans which adorns the lost little basin appeared first during the reign of Hugh. W. Rüdt de Collenberg, "L'Héraldique de Chypre", *Cahiers d'Héraldique* 3 (1977), 85–158, esp. 144; De Vaivre, "Le décor héraldique", esp. 431. Certain elements of the decoration of the Baptistère, the abbreviated versions of the tripartite blazon format introduced into Mamluk heraldry ca. 1325 and comparison with illustrations in a group of manuscripts dated between 1334 and 1360 support a date in or after the third decade of the fourteenth century. Ward, "The Baptistère", 121.

65 However, we know of two window grilles where the metalworker repeated his signature up to 16 times. Mols, *Mamluk Metalwork*, 154.

Further inscriptions on the Baptistère name the represented objects. There are two penboxes inscribed with the Arabic word for penbox; the Arabic inscription on a bowl held by a figure reads: 'I am a vessel to carry food' (fig. 7).[66] Similar inscriptions on Mamluk metal ware are known as part of poems praising the beauty and craftsmanship of the object.[67] Referring to this custom, the scenes of the vessel show a descriptive, even narrative dimension which is unusual for Mamluk metal works and Mamluk art in general, but would be at home in Europe.

The figures with hats on the Baptistère likewise cannot be paralleled in Mamluk art. They display features characteristic of Christian painting of the thirteenth and fourteenth century. The wide-brimmed hats, short tunic, long cape knotted in front, thick belt, leggings and boots are typical of western military dress, even if the artist has misinterpreted several details (fig. 7).[68] Rogers has recently drawn a connection with Benedictine or Cistercian manuscript paintings. He attributes the decoration of the basin to an outside designer, which style was then transmuted by Ibn al-Zayn.[69]

There is another special element appearing frequently, which deserves attention and has not been discussed sufficiently, namely the headgear of the rulers (fig. 5 and 9). In several cases this headgear has been identified as a Western crown, with the observations that in the Mamluk court a crown was not used and crowns were generally not depicted.[70] Little is known of the headgear of Mamluk Sultans, but it is clear that they could wear different types of headgear and that customs changed during the period of Mamluk rule. There seems to have existed a kind of crown in early times named *sharbūsh*, but its appearance is not known with certainty.[71] So there is no secure infor-

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66 Ward, "The Baptistère", 118.

67 Behrens-Abouseif, "Veneto-Saracenic Metalware", 152–53. Cf. *Dispute Poems and Dialogues in the Ancient and Medieval Near East*, ed. G. Reinink and H. Vanstiphout (Leuven: Peeters, 1991).

68 Ward, "The Baptistère", 118. For the problematic reconstruction of Mamluk dress see B. Walker, "Rethinking Mamluk Textiles", *Mamluk Studies Review* 4 (2000): 167–217. Walker herself holds the clothing of the figures on the Baptistère and the Vasselot bowl as characteristic of Mamluk dress.

69 J. Rogers, "Court Workshops under the Bahri Mamluks", in *The Arts of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria – Evolution and Impact*, ed. D. Behrens-Abouseif (Göttingen: V&R unipress 2012), 252–62 and 261–62.

70 De Hond and Mols, "Mamluk Basin", 11. Cf. Makariou, *Two Objects*; *Idem*, "Plateau", 42.

71 Al-Maqrīzī describes it in the fifteenth century as a triangular-shaped crown without a kerchief around it. In the early period it was bestowed on Mamluk emirs as well. Finally we learn from al-Makrīzī that the wearing of the *sharbūsh* was abolished by the Circassian sultans (1382–1517). A. Fuess, "Sultans with Horns: The Political Significance of Headgear in the Mamluk Empire", *Mamluk Studies Review* 12/2 (2008): 71–94, esp. 76. Albrecht Fuess bases his argument on manuscript illustrations which show different types of headgear more or less similar to Western crowns. But he does not take into account the fact that these illustrations rely on earlier as well as foreign models (see Atil, "Mamluk Painting"), not to mention the mostly unknown or foreign background of the artists. He also identifies headgears of completely different appearance as *sharbūsh*. Among his examples he includes the headgear of the two figures of rulers in the Baptistère of Saint Louis, both of whom he identifies, following Doris Behrens-Abouseif, as Sultan Baybars, without taking into account the different dating of the object (Behrens-Abouseif, "The Baptistère", 6.).

mation available at present. Therefore we can only conclude that the headgear of the rulers in our objects as a symbol of royal power often resembles rather a Western instead of a Mamluk type. Rachel Ward is of the opinion that an enthroned figure wearing a crown must represent a foreign ruler.[72]

The extensive inscriptions on some of our objects are not in keeping with Mamluk traditions either. Normally, apart from verses from the Koran, titles of the owner and wishes for his wellbeing embellish Mamluk metal ware. His power and greatness is stressed with phrases like "Glory to our master", "Defender of the Faith", "the learned", "the pious", etc. Thus the objects mirror the prominence of inscriptions and titles in the Mamluk world of the fourteenth century. Because of their importance, inscriptions seem to have been prescribed and controlled rigidly.[73] This applies especially to titles. The term most commonly applied to non-Muslim rulers is *malik*, king. Bernard Lewis states that its connotation in early Islamic times seems to have been sufficiently negative for it to be used of non-Muslim rulers. But the rulers of the Christian states established by the Crusaders in Muslim territories did not qualify even for this title. The king of Cyprus was to be called *mutamallik* and not *malik* because the Christians had conquered the island and ruled it after the Muslims had taken it.[74] In fact, when referring to Christian rulers of formerly Muslim lands, Mamluk administrative manuals prescribed the use of the term "occupier" or "pseudo-king" (*mutamallik*). Reference was also made to the religion of the foreign sovereigns in titles such as "Glory of Christianity", "Chief of the Christian Community", "Support of the Baptized".[75] But none of these formulas appears in our objects for the Lusignan dynasty. In fact the inscriptions on them adhere to unknown Arabic protocols: they cannot be found either in the newly drawn-up protocols for Christian rulers in the Mamluk court or in Islamic usage in general for foreign rulers.

Moreover, their texts contain unusual aspects as regards their language and their expressions and titles; they even contain grammatical errors. The basin for Elisabeth of Carinthia bears a Latin inscription on the outside, citing a phrase from the legend of Saint Agatha, the highly venerated patron saint from Catania in Sicily (fig. 4).[76] The Arabic text of the inscription on the interior side of the basin, a combination of anonymous titles, blessings and pseudo inscriptions (Jan de Hond and Luitgard Mols call the inscription "confused"), is unusual as well in a time when the inclusion of clients' titles was far more customary.[77] Technical examinations have revealed that the

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72 Ward, "The Baptistère", 117.

73 Rogers, "Court Workshops", 247–66, esp. 248.

74 B. Lewis, *The Political Language of Islam* (Chicago: U of Chicago Press, 1991), 97–98.

75 Rice, "Arabic Inscriptions", 401–2.

76 For its background see Ritzerfeld, "Mamlūkische Metallkunst", 529–32, 536–38.

77 The two authors have deciphered the inscription only partly as "Glory and victory permanence (?) for the noble, the good, the / ... and splendour and fortune and / Excellency ... l-maliki al-mal / lik the authority al ...". De Hond and Mols, "A Mamluk Basin", 9, 11–12.

Latin inscription and the coats of arms on the exterior and the Islamic decorations on the interior are by the same hand and must be dated to the same time.[78]

The inscriptions on the inside and outside of the tray in the Louvre (Jan de Hond and Luitgard Mols suggest it might come from the same workshop as the basin of Elisabeth) differ slightly, bestowing blessings of glory, victory and long life to the noble, the good (fig. 3).[79] The owner, probably the Cypriot ruler himself, is described with a term rarely found in Mamluk inscriptions, namely *majid*, that is "the noble, majestic". It indicates, as Sophie Makariou has pointed out, an adaptation of the text according to the requirements of the commissioner. Inscriptions, coat of arms and figurative decoration of the tray were crafted using the same technique, which excludes later additions.[80]

The basin of King Hugh is decorated with a French text in addition to eight Arabic inscriptions (fig. 2). The French one on the rim calls the Cypriot king "*Tres haut et puissant roi Hugue de Jherusalem et de Chipre que Dieu manteigne*" (His highness the mighty King Hugh of Jerusalem and Cyprus, whom God protect). Makariou translates the eight Arabic inscriptions on the inside and outside as "Made to the orders of his Highness the most splendid Ouk the blessed, he who is at the head of the select armies of the Frankish kings, Ouk of the Lusignans, may his glory last into eternity".[81] The rather bellicose inscriptions do not follow the Mamluk titular regulations and do not contain the formulas which are laid down by the Mamluk administrative manuals in respect of the King of Cyprus. Instead of giving the title *mutamallik* (occupier) accorded a Christian ruler of a territory once under Muslim rule, Hugh is called "king" and thus given *de facto* recognition.[82] In fact the French version appears to translate the official Latin title the Lusignan rulers used to assert their position as *Jerusalem et Cypri rex*.[83] The territorial emphasis of the French text and the title of Hugh as king of Cyprus and Jerusalem are clearly in conflict with Mamluk interests and political aims.

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78 De Hond and Mols, "A Mamluk Basin", 12.

79 De Hond and Mols, "A Mamluk Basin", 22. For the inscription on the tray see Christie's, "A brass basin made for Prince Aimerey or Prince Guy de Lusignan", Lot 516 / Sale 6098; London, 20 April 1999, http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot/a-brass-basin-made-for-prince-aimerey-1449872-details.aspx?intObjectID=1449872 (accessed 18.12.2012). The inscription on the inside within the two cartouches reads: "Glory, victory and long life to the noble, the good; praise". The exterior inscription is similar, reading: "Glory and victory and long life to the noble, the good; praise and excellence and [?] greatness and elevation". Cf. Makariou, "Plateau", 41.

80 Makariou, *Two objects*, esp. Nr. 8; idem, "Plateau", 41–44. The little bowl of unknown location seems to bear an Arabic poem. Makariou, *Le baptistère*, 18.

81 Makariou, *Two Objects*. Other translations in D'Allemagne, "A note", 513; Rice, "Arabic Inscriptions", 397; A. Welch, *Calligraphy in the Arts of the Muslim World*, Exhibition Asia House Gallery, New York (New York, 1979), 84.

82 Rice, "Arabic Inscriptions", 401.

83 P. W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 108.

Moreover the inscriptions describe Hugh as the head of the armies of the Frankish kings, which indicates a close connection between the Lusignan dynasty and the Western kingdoms and raises further doubts as to the responsibility of a Mamluk enemy-commissioner.

There are other unusual and even ungrammatical features in the wording of the Arabic inscriptions. Some words seem to be rather a translation from the French.[84] All the same, the fine Arabic script displays a high degree of calligraphic proficiency. Rice is certain that it is a work of a person thoroughly experienced in the fashions of calligraphic ornamentation then prevailing in the Near East.[85] The shape of the object as well as the style of the animal friezes and the astrological and floral motifs point to Syrian or Egyptian craftsmen. The wording of the text of the inscriptions, which seems to have created some difficulties for the decipherers, does not follow the Mamluk administrative manuals, but its execution was done by a very able and experienced Mamluk craftsman.[86] The French inscription on the rim and the shields, executed in another technique "in an utterly un-Islamic manner",[87] are probably the work of another, possibly Western craftsman. But the similarity of the French and the Arabic texts with regards to their content and even their similar wording indicates that the decoration of the basin was not executed in different phases, but only by different hands. The question is whether these craftsmen worked in the same workshop or whether the object was send away or even abroad to be completed.

We can conclude that the epigraphers/designers/craftsmen responsible for the production of the named items had (to some degree) difficulties with grammar and they also lacked the knowledge of correct titles and benedictions. This is remarkable, given the importance and the control of inscriptions and titles at the Mamluk court where, as J. Rogers points out, the complicated draft of the calligrapher demanded the close supervision of the inlayer.[88] Is it in fact possible that such unusual features were created in a Mamluk court workshop in Cairo, as Rogers proposes, or under Mamluk reign in Damascus, as proposed by Sophie Makariou, where numerous precious objects of metal ware were manufactured without any of these features?[89]

We can doubt their production in a Mamluk court workshop, where ceremonial objects would have required the close cooperation of court offices like the chancery and where secretaries who were experts in the *minutiae* of titulature would have

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84 For details see Rice, "Arabic Inscriptions".

85 Rice, "Arabic Inscriptions", 397–400.

86 Ibid., 402.

87 Ibid., 402.

88 Rogers, "Court Workshops", 250.

89 Ibid., 250–52; Makariou, *Le baptistère*, 16–17. Rogers assumes that a secretary of the Mamluk court drafted the Arabic inscription of the vessel for Hugh IV and tried, as an expert in chancery titulature, to belittle Hugh with made-up titles. But the French text as well as the blazons contradict this interpretation.

overseen the correctness in form and content of the inscriptions throughout the whole process of their manufacture.[90] Moreover, there is also a political aspect to the affair, particularly in case of the basin for the Cypriot king (fig. 2). The luxury item was clearly ordered to commemorate the Lusignan claim as kings of Jerusalem, maybe for the coronation of Hugh IV in 1324 or for the festivities after the spectacular capture of Smyrna in 1344.[91] The Mamluk chancery would never have recognized this claim. Rogers states that therefore the commission of the Baptistère and the basin of Hugh IV illustrate 'the dark side of a great office of state, a readiness to execute works for enemy powers'.[92] But it is hardly conceivable that elements like the arms of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, the cross *pattee* of the Crusaders, and inscriptions naming the Cypriot ruler as king of Jerusalem were made in a Mamluk court workshop.[93] Crosses mark the vessel as a Christian conception while King Hugh is presented as the heir to the Crusading ideal.[94] The kings of Cyprus were titular kings of Jerusalem since 1269, but only in the second quarter of the fourteenth century could they claim the title exclusively against the challenges to their rights from the Angevins of South Italy.[95] With the basin Hugh laid claim to his 'magical' lost kingdom.[96]

Could such a politically charged object come from a "normal" metalworking workshop in Cairo or Damascus? It is known that Cairene workshops produced inlaid metal items as gifts or on commission for the Rasulid rulers of Yemen, including their dynastic symbol in the usual Mamluk programme.[97] Sophie Makariou, on the other hand, thinks of the Baptistère being a product of Syria. According to her argumentation, it must have been created under the benevolent eye of Sayf al-Din Tankiz al-Nasiri, viceroy of Syria, because the object could not have escaped the rigid control exercised over luxury items.[98] But exactly because of the general control of luxury ware and of inscriptions, and especially titles so important for the Mamluk elite, it seems unlikely that such unusual objects were manufactured under Mamluk rule at all. The good relations between the Mamluks and Yemen, where there were regular exchanges of gifts, made a manufacture of precious metal items for the Rasulids possible. But considering

90 Rogers, "Court Workshops",248. But Rogers comes to a different conclusion.

91 See the forthcoming article from Ritzerfeld, "The Language of Power".

92 Rogers, "Court Workshops", 250–52.

93 Welch, *Calligraphy*, 84. Medallions enclose armorial shields displaying the arms of Jerusalem and the cross *pattee* of the crusaders (the cross does not appear to be the one from the blazon of the family of Ibelin, which differs in the length of its arms. Cf. Makariou, "Dinanderie des Lusignan").

94 Weyl-Carr, "Art in the Court", 248–49.

95 Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 107–9.

96 For the importance of the title see C. Schabel, "'Hugh the Just': The further Rehabilitation of King Hugh IV Lusignan of Cyprus", *Annual Review of the Cyprus Research Centre (Epetiris Kentrou Epistimonikon Erevnon)*, XXX, 123–52, esp. 146–50.

97 Ritzerfeld, "Mamlūkische Metallkunst", 523–25.

98 Makariou, *Le baptistère*, 16–17.

the state of political tension between Cyprus and Egypt during the late thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century and the territorial rivalry of the Mamluk and the Western rulers, we can exclude the possibility of the production of such a politically charged object as the basin for Hugh IV on Mamluk lands—whether as a commission on behalf of a foreign ruler or as a gift for him.[99]

If the Lusignan king ordered his vessel in a workshop outside the Mamluk territories, he may have ordered his other metal items there as well. While the high quality of decoration of all the objects indicates those responsible were experienced craftsmen, a production place beyond Mamluk control, but also lacking specific epigraphic and courtly knowledge would account for the grammatically wrong texts and unusual titles. A creation outside the Mamluk sphere of influence in a new sphere with different artistic and cultural traditions also accounts for the differing patterns of decoration. Indications of this are the eschewing of inscriptions, the reuse of ancient metal ware motifs, the frequent choice of a crown as symbol of power as well as the unusual narrative dimension and self-representation of the artist and the altogether experimental character of the design, which is not always convincing in its results. Thus not only the already discussed difficulties regarding production and commerce during the fourteenth century but also the objects themselves allow us to question their manufacture in Mamluk territories. Thus the question remains: where may have such culturally hybrid objects been produced, where did the preconditions permit the development of such unusual objects of art?

Made in Cyprus?

The location of production of our group of metal ware must have been a place with the necessary handcraft skills, with access to the necessary resources and possibly with culturally hybrid preconditions and an interest in Mamluk luxury commodities. We now know with certainty that one vessel was made on the orders of the Lusignan king of Cyprus (fig. 2). Two other objects, the tray and the little basin, were made for members of his family or for himself (fig. 3). Considering the lion rampant in shields portrayed on the Baptistère, this vessel and the similar Vasselot bowl as well as the basin in Jerusalem might have been made for him, too (fig. 6 and 9). It seems obvious to propose Cyprus as location of production for our group of metal ware. David Rice has already suggested the possibility that the basin of Hugh IV was executed in Cyprus by a person trained in a Syrian or Egyptian workshop, and he was followed by Annemarie Weyl-Carr, but the idea was not further developed in scholarly research.[100]

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99 P. Edbury, *The Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus and its Muslim Neighbours* (Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, 1993), 10.

100 Rice, "Arabic Inscriptions", 402; Weyl-Carr, "Art in the Court", 247–48. The possibility has been mentioned also by Anthony Welch. Welch, *Calligraphy*, 84.

As far as I know there exists no documentation of metal ware workshops in Cyprus or of metal objects sold in markets comparable to the descriptions we have of their production and representation in Damascus and Cairo. But the intensive trade especially during the papal embargo must have made all kinds of necessary materials available. And, as we have seen before, lead and copper as important prime materials for metal products were extracted on the island itself. So there is a good reason to believe that there existed some metalwork production in Cyprus. And the lack of any relevant documentation does not rule out the existence of workshops. Metal objects would be bought for cash or commissioned, yet it seems unlikely that notary charters would register contracts for their manufacture.[101] The fact that pilgrims did not dwell on these products in their reports might indicate that there existed no large scale production. But it does not exclude a limited and maybe high quality production for the court, perhaps just for a short period.

The political, commercial and cultural preconditions in Cyprus were suitable for the development of such a cultural phenomenon in the second and third quarter of the fourteenth century. Under King Hugh IV Cyprus flourished as a cultural as well as commercial crossroads.[102] As discussed above, because of the papal embargo, commerce between Europe and the Levant had to go via Cyprus as intermediary station to cover up the ultimate goal of the goods. Cyprus benefited from its position, which created wealth and brought a multitude of prime materials as well as luxury items to the island. Its artistic projects show influences from the Crusader states, from Armenia and Byzantium alongside influences from France and Italy, a result of the prosperity and wide connections of the inhabitants. There must have been enough wealth as well as interest in the luxury symbols of the neighbouring elites to secure demand for fine metal ware of Mamluk tradition.[103] And there existed a culturally hybrid culture and art, especially at the court, indicating a wide cultural knowledge and interest, which seems a necessary precondition for the creation of objects of such culturally hybrid appearance like the items discussed, with the mixing of Eastern and Western languages, scriptures, decorative traditions and symbols of power, individuality and legitimacy.

The vessel of King Hugh gives some hints as to where it was made (fig. 2). As Annemarie Weyl-Carr has shown, it employs French formulae that are unusual to any regime except the Lusignans', and the spelling of Hugh's name with the v-shaped "u",

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101 They could have appeared in testaments, but even then it would be impossible to determine where they had been manufactured, unless specifically stated. I am much obliged to David Jacoby for this information.

102 For the economic development of Cyprus see N. Coureas, "Economy", in *Cyprus: Society and culture*, ed. A. Nicolau-Konnari and C. Schabel (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 103–56.

103 For exchanges between the Mediterranean elites see S. Burkhardt, M. Mersch, S. Schröder and U. Ritzerfeld, "Hybridisierung von Zeichen und Formen durch mediterrane Eliten", in *Integration und Desintegration der Kulturen im europäischen Mittelalter*, ed. M. Borgolte et al., Europa im Mittelalter, Bd. 18 (Berlin: Akademieverlag, 2011), 467–560.

accords with the distinctively idiosyncratic orthography of the Cypriot coinage, implying the inscriptions on the vessel are not Mamluk, but Lusignan.[104] Rachel Ward compares the features and headwear of some of the figures on the Baptistère with those of an early fourteenth century donor portrait in the church of Dali on Cyprus, which again might suggest a Cypriot background of both the vessel and the very similar Vasselot bowl and basin in Jerusalem (fig. 7 and 8).[105]

Recently an additional vessel, bearing Arabic and Hebrew inscriptions and found on Cyprus, has come to the attention of the researchers, which might corroborate the theory of a Cypriot metalwork production.[106] It is made of copper alloy and engraved, but was probably never encrusted, and perhaps was never even finished. In form, height and width it is similar to the basins discussed above, as also in its decorative pattern suggesting a production in the same period.[107] There are Arabic inscriptions in *thuluth* in central bands on the inside and outside framing medallions, but in the medallions there are flowers with long petals instead of inscriptions. As is the case with the basin of Elisabeth of Carinthia, the inner base is not decorated, nor is the space over and under the band on the outside. On the rim there is the classical pattern of pearls. Parts of the inscriptions can be read as anonymous titles such as "the Exalted", "the Royal", "the Knowing", "the Efficient" and "the Just". Interesting is a further small inscription on the rim in Hebrew letters, which has not been deciphered yet, but seems to be in same hand as the Arabic inscriptions. Sophie Makariou considers it possible that the vessel was made for a member of the Jewish community in Cyprus, given the fact that the item was found on Cape Akamas in the northwest of the island.[108] However, until we know the content of the Hebrew inscription there remains the question: which inhabitant of Cyprus would and could style himself as 'royal'? Besides, there may have existed religious reasons for a Christian patron to decorate his vessel with letters from the Holy Land. What we can deduce is that the patron was wealthy enough to order such a singular item of hybrid art work. Furthermore, he had some kind of relations to both cultural spheres, which he tried to combine in the object made for his praise. Therefore it seems probable that the patron was an important person near the ruling class, maybe a refugee from the mainland with a function at the Lusignan court.

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104 Weyl-Carr, "Art in the Court", 246–47.

105 Ward, "The Baptistère", 118.

106 Nicosia, Leventis Museum, Inv. B/2004/30–40. For the following and for photographs see S. Makariou, "Bassin à inscription hébraïque", in *Chypre entre Byzance et l'Occident IVe–XVIe* siècle, ed. J. Durand and D. Giovannoni, Exhibition catalog No. 100 (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2012).

107 Makariou dates it in the fifteenth or first half of the sixteenth century without giving a reason. But the form of the vessel is especially common in the first half and the middle of the fourteenth century. Makariou, "Bassin à inscription hébraïque", 100.

108 In the fourteenth century Jewish communities existed in Famagusta, Nicosia and Paphos. They engaged in trade, tanning, dyeing and the lending of money. C. Schabel, "Religion", in *Cyprus: Society and Culture 1191–1374*, ed. A. Nicolaou-Konnari and C. Schabel (Leiden: Brill 2005), 157–218, esp. 162–63.

Perhaps the result was not satisfactory and the project was therefore abandoned. But the finding place of this metal vessel, linguistically and decoratively unusually shaped by Mamluk standards, strengthens the arguments for a locus of production of fine metal ware of culturally hybrid appearance in Cyprus in the fourteenth century. And considering the fact that many of our objects were neglected for a long time, we can be fairly certain that there will be other similar objects coming to light, found in excavations or in Museum deposits and galleries.[109]

It seems reasonable to place any such Cypriot metalwork production in the reign of Hugh IV. Apart from the inscriptions in his vessel, details of the decoration of the discussed objects like the motif of radiating inscriptions, the rosettes, the use of the so-called old blazon of the Lusignan and other features confirm a production date not before his reign, perhaps in the 1330s or 1340s. As Sharon Kinoshita has observed, it is harder to imagine a Mamluk-style basin proclaiming the king's greatness under his son King Peter I, who pursued a more distinctly Western style of kingship. King Peter's personal temperament and the turn of historical circumstances caused by the loss of Cyprus' commercial importance after the lifting of the papal trade embargo in 1344 made the tone of his reign different from that of his father.[110] Furthermore, the personal preferences and interests of Hugh would also accord with the production of precious metal ware of Mamluk tradition under his rule. Together with other Mediterranean rulers like King Roger II of Sicily and Emperor Frederick II before him, King Hugh seems to have been a sponsor of the cultivation and circulation of Greek and Arabic scientific traditions. Hugh was praised as a patron of learning and enjoyed the debates of Latins, Greeks and Arabs at his court. There was a Spanish Dominican there translating Arabic and Coptic works into Latin. There was also a Greek scholar translating a Latin astronomical treatise into Greek, and there were Arab philosophers from Egypt, who came to debate and to gain patronage. Hugh's far-ranging patronage included the polymath George Lapithes as well as Boccaccio and also artistic projects like the abbey of Bellapais.[111] The king also fancied uncommon preciosities, and there are frequent reports of opulent items of metal in the palace of the Lusignan.[112] It is known from a decree of the Venetian senate from 1334 that Hugh

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109 Interesting items for our issue are for example a basin apparently identical to the Baptistère, mentioned as being in the Kevorkian Collection in New York (Atil, *Renaissance*, p. 78.) and a bowl in the Louvre with planets and musicians, OA 6032 (Atil, *Renaissance*, 75.). A vessel similar to our objects in its shape, decoration and date and inscribed with the name "Simon Amadori" and blazons was sold by the Sam Fogg Art Gallery in London in 2011. But in this case name and blazon might have been added later, when bronze feet were added to the basin in the sixteenth century. http://www.samfogg.com/catalogue.php?id=63&p=1 (accessed 1.12.2012)

110 S. Kinoshita, "'Noi siamo mercatanti cipriani': How to Do Things in the Medieval Mediterranean", in *Philippe de Mézières and His Ages: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and K. Petkov (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2012), 41–60, esp. 57–59.

111 Schabel, "Hugh the Just", pp. 125–31; Kinoshita, "Noi siamo mercatanti cipriani", 52–53; Weyl-Carr, "Art in the Court", 239–56.

112 Weyl-Carr, "Art in the Court", 248.

paid the fabulous sum of 800 ducats to the Venetian goldsmith Mondino da Cremona for a cleverly constructed clock.[113] Besides, what is characteristic of the eclectic art of Lusignan patronage is its cosmopolitan excellence. The Cypriot dynasty preferred the styles of the high courts of the Mediterranean, whether Palaiologan, Gothic or Mamluk, among which they came to take their place.[114] Therefore, for Hugh as king of a culturally and artistically hybrid island next to Mamluk territories and as a sponsor of art, uncommon preciosities and culturally different traditions and learning, inlaid metal ware of Mamluk court tradition could well have been highly attractive.

This type of luxury commodity also seems to have interested Elisabeth of Carinthia, wife of the Sicilian king ruling over an island traditionally influenced by Islamic art and culture. Her vessel has a political aspect as well. The motif of the eagle on her basin follows the tradition of the dynasty of the Hohenstaufen of South Italy, who ordered its image on coins, in mosaics, and on various vessels. Even after the fall of the Hohenstaufen, the eagle demonstrated the claim of the related dynasty of Aragon to their lost lands, in this case the claim of the Sicilian house of Aragon to the lands of the Sicilian kingdom on the mainland, which had been lost to the Anjou in the Treaty of Caltabelotta in 1302.[115] Therefore the eagle on the basin seems to have a dynastic and territorial meaning, which makes the vessel, a claim for the rights of the Sicilian royalty of Aragon, comparable to the function of the one of Hugh for the house of Lusignan.

It appears then that Mamluk luxury items were attractive to the elites of neighbouring territories, and not only as highly decorative, precious and rare eastern luxury goods produced by one of the most important cultures and powers of the Mediterranean region.[116] In at least two cases the metal items served for the demonstration of political and territorial claims. Considering their background, we can make out a specific relation. There existed lively commercial relations between Sicily and Cyprus, concentrated exclusively on Famagusta, and also close relations between the Lusignan and Aragonese royal houses during the first half of the fourteenth century, which might account for the production of the basin for the Sicilian queen consort—either upon her order or as a gift from a rich Sicilian merchant in Cyprus or the royal house of the Lusignan.[117] There is one event which would have presented the Cypriot king with a

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113 V. Lazari, *Notizia delle opere d'arte e d'antichità della raccolta Correr di Venezia* (Venice: Tipografia del Commercio, 1859), 180–81.

114 A. Weyl-Carr, "Art in the Court"; idem, "Art", in *Cyprus: Society and culture*, ed. A. Nicolau-Konnari and C. Schabel (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 285–328.

115 J. Deér, "Adler aus der Zeit Friedrichs II.", in *Kaiser Friedrichs II. Herrschaftszeichen,* ed. P. Schramm (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1955), 88–124, esp. 124; Ritzerfeld, "Mamlūkische Metallkunst", 548–549.

116 For exchanges between elites of the Mediterranean region see Burkhardt et al., "Hybridisierung von Zeichen".

117 N. Coureas, "Trade between Cyprus and Aragonese Sicily in the Late Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries", *EKEE* XXXII (2006), 79–108, esp. 81; idem, "The Influence of the Kingdom of Aragon in Cyprus, Rhodes, Latin Greece and Mamluk Egypt during the Later Middle Ages, 1276–1479", *Kypriakai Spoudai* 62–63 (1998–1999): 211–24, esp. 217.

suitable opportunity to send a gift to Sicily. In 1343 the widow of the late King Henry II, Constance of Sicily, sister of King Peter II of Sicily and therefore sister-in-law to Queen Elisabeth, was married to John Lusignan, son of Hugh IV. Hugh had obtained a papal dispensation for the union, his motivation apparently having been an improvement in the strained relations between the houses of Lusignan and Aragon.[118] A marriage alliance between the two dynasties, which were both hostile to the Angevin rulers of Naples, a fact one can read in the decoration of both vessels, was seen as beneficial for both kingdoms. A gift to Queen Elisabeth, who one year after the death of Peter II was even more powerful in Sicily than she had been previously , would have served the purpose of improving relations between Lusignan Cyprus and Aragonese Sicily.[119]

King Hugh IV may have had an interest in having a metal ware workshop at his court, for his own supply as well as possibly for the provision of others with gifts, as had other Muslim rulers and possibly also the Mamluk Sultans.[120] We may well imagine craftsmen originally from Mamluk territories working for the powerful and rich Lusignan king. The problem is that the lives of Mamluk metalworkers remain largely a mystery. We have to rely on the occasional references to them in the literary sources and on signatures on the objects they produced. Luitgard Mols comes to the conclusion that although the production of metal ware must have been mostly local, the industry was not city-bound. There existed a voluntary and individual movement of Mamluk craftsmen and workshops from one place to another for particular assignments or in search of employment, whether invited by a local court or on a private initiative.[121] Their movement seems analogous to that of painters, who must have travelled all over the empire, setting up their workshops where there was demand for their work.[122] The reign of Hugh of Lusignan was one of prosperity and wealth, which must have attracted foreign craftsmen, especially at times of demographical, economical and social crisis in Egypt and Syria in the mid-fourteenth century. Therefore the possible existence of a metal ware workshop in Cyprus, perhaps even one at the Lusignan Court, is not far-fetched. The experimentation with new designs and practices would seem quite natural for such a thriving melting-pot of different cultures. Considering the arrival of numerous Arabic-Christian refugees from the mainland after the fall of Acre to the Muslims

118 Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 145.

119 For Elisabeth of Carinthia see C. M. Rugolo, "Elisabetta di Carinzia", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, (Rome, 1993), Vol. 42, 484–86; V. d'Alessandro, *Politica e Società nella Sicilia Aragonese* (Palermo: Arti Graf. A. Cappugi & F.i 1963), 69–90; Ritzerfeld, "Mamlūkische Metallkunst", 531–32, 536–38.

120 For a possible workshop at the Mamluk court see Rogers, 'Court Workshops'. The Timurids and Ottomans had palace workshops, but the sources remain silent about Mamluk court workshops. However, following a huge order from the Sultan his viceroy Baydamur set up a temporary palace workshop within the vice-regal palace in Damascus in 1374 to supply him with different kind of luxury items. Mols, *Mamluk Metalwork*, 156.

121 Mols, *Mamluk Metalwork*, 157–58.

122 Atil, "Mamluk Painting", 159.

in 1291, there could well have been a supply of specialized craftsmen for the establishment of a workshop, Arabic scribes able to act as calligraphers, and craftsmen for drawing, engraving and inlaying.

Stylistic differences in our objects, especially between the basin of King Hugh IV and the other objects, suggest the existence of several craftsmen, if not workshops. Considering the fact that the decorative pattern of the basin of Hugh differs only slightly from Mamluk tradition, it may be one of the early pieces made on the island, while objects as the Baptistère and the Vasselot bowl were probably produced later on, when the craftsmen had had some time to develop a new style of decoration suitable for the new kind of clientele. By name we know only one craftsman, Muhammad Ibn-al-Zayn. He designed and/or applied figural representations using inlay technique on the Baptistère and the Vasselot bowl, using gold and silver for the embellishment of their surface. But his name is also found on an iron grille in Jerusalem installed in the *madrasa* of *al-Is ārdīya* in Jerusalem probably between 1345 and 1359.[123] The inlaid objects and the grille differ very markedly from one another. If it were not for his signature, nothing in the material, techniques or designs would betray that a single craftsman was responsible for all these items.[124] J. W. Allan has drawn the conclusion that Ibn-al-Zayn was the owner of a wider business which included ironworking as well.[125] Indeed it seems probable that he employed other craftsmen and was the master of more than one workshop. And, like other metalworking craftsmen, he possibly traveled a lot in search of employment. He might as well have come to Cyprus to set up a workshop, attracted by the famous wealth of its merchants and court, maybe driven by the shortage of raw materials in Mamluk territories. Rachel Ward compares figures in a group of manuscripts which were possibly produced in Damascus with his own figural representations on the Baptistère.[126] We can conclude that some of the metalworkers in Ibn al-Zayn's workshop probably came from Damascus or had access to Damascene manuscripts. On the other hand, the similarities to the donor portrait in the church of Dali mentioned above might indicate that the designer responsible came from Cyprus or had knowledge of Cypriot paintings and made a model which was adapted by another craftsman together with some misunderstood details (fig. 8). Thus a culturally mixed style of decoration was developed. This mixed styled combined the tradition of luxury Mamluk metal ware with the cultural background, the interests, the symbolism of power, the individuality and the legitimacy of the Cypriot nobles, and so was adapted to their requirements. At the same time, a short-lived renaissance of a figural style came about, epitomized by the works of Ibn al-Zayn, who used the objects made

123 The monument is dated 1359, but was already standing in 1345. Allan, "Muhammad ibn al-Zain", 202.
124 Mols, *Mamluk Metalwork*, 152.
125 Allan, "Muhammad ibn al-Zain", 207.
126 Ward, "The Baptistère", 121.

in his workshop(s) for the promotion of his wide-ranging abilities and virtuosity as the master craftsman..

It remains to ask where the workshop(s) could have been located on the island. A court workshop would probably have been located in Nicosia, where the court resided along with the government and the nobles as patrons. A second possibility is Famagusta, with its thriving cultural life and celebrated wealth under Hugh IV, its commercial links, refugees, voyagers, traders and inhabitants from different nations and a royal residence and political importance guaranteeing ideal conditions for a workshop. Under Lusignan governance from the late twelfth century, and benefitting further from the fall of Crusader Acre at the end of the thirteenth, Famagusta became the centre of commercial life of the island, the main port of the Lusignan kingdom of Cyprus and a principal entrepôt of East-West trade in the Eastern Mediterranean.[127] From Famagusta radiated impressive trade connections with the known world, from Alexandria to Beirut, Tripoli to Antioch, Damascus to Constantinople, Venice to Pisa, Bruges to London, and so on. In contrast to Limassol in the south, Famagusta benefited from its orientation towards the east and its proximity to the coastal cities of Syria and Lajazzo in Little Armenia, where commodities arrived from the whole Orient. Traders and merchants from dozens of Mediterranean ports, all the major European players, gathered here. With the fall to the Muslims of the major Middle Eastern port of Acre in 1291, Famagusta became an even more active and profitable trading center as new refugees flooded the town with capital, so that by the fourteenth century it was thought to be the world's richest city. Its commercial, cultural and artistic prosperity peaked in the 1330s. Noblemen, knights, merchants and religious people from the mainland came to settle there. The city was also of political importance due to its geographical vicinity to the Holy Land. The Cathedral of St. Nicholas in the main square of Famagusta and near to the royal residence became the coronation place for the Lusignan sovereigns as kings of Jerusalem. The city also acquired an enhanced judicial status with the foundation of a burgess court there at the close of the thirteenth century and of a mint sometime before 1310. The wealth of Famagusta, its excellent trade connections and therefore access to raw materials, and the presence of many refugees and presumably also craftsmen from the mainland would make the city an ideal location for a metal-ware workshop. Its thriving and culturally mixed milieu and its vicinity to the Mamluk kingdom would account for the experimentation with new designs of a culturally hybrid background. The royal presence in the city and its political importance for the Lusignan dynasty as coronation place for them as kings of Jerusalem might even have inspired politically loaded decoration programmes like the one of the vessel for King Hugh IV.

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127 D. Jacoby, "The Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the Late Thirteenth Century", in *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (Northampton: Variorum Reprints, 1989), 145–79; Coureas, "Economy", 129–33.

CRUSADER IDEOLOGY, PROPAGANDA, AND THE ART OF THE CARMELITE CHURCH IN FOURTEENTH–CENTURY FAMAGUSTA

Maria Paschali

In 1324, in a coronation ceremony at the Latin cathedral of Saint Nicholas in Famagusta, Hugh IV became the first king of Cyprus to prominently assert the regency of Jerusalem by receiving the crown of the holy city. During his reign and that of his son Peter I, the cityscape of Famagusta was swiftly changing into a crusader urban centre. Its port functioned as King Peter I's principal base for naval and military expeditions against the Muslim ports of southern Anatolia and Syria. The mendicant churches of the city became centres of crusade preaching. These developments raise the intriguing question of how the art in the city of Famagusta can be understood in the light of crusader fervour of the time. In contrast to the art of the other orders of friars in Cyprus, the substantial amount of visual information we can garner from the Carmelite church of Famagusta makes it worth exploring in respect of this crusade milieu (figs 1–2).[1]

On the southernmost bay of the five-sided apse, a saintly figure is represented above the door niche, standing frontally in courtly costume (fig. 3). This monumental mural can be dated to around 1350–1370. A tiny fragment of the halo is still visible on the left-hand side. The head of the saint is obliterated. No crown survives and no inscription accompanies the figure. However, in 1899 and 1918 respectively, Camille Enlart and George Jeffery informed us that the figure represents Saint Helena. In her inward-bent left hand she holds an orb on which is marked a red cross that is scarcely

[1] For the historical background against which the murals explored here can be viewed, see P. W. Edbury, "The Crusading policy of King Peter I of Cyprus, 1359–1369", in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades*, ed. P. M. Holt (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1977), 90–105; idem, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191–1374* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); *Cyprus. Society and Culture 1191–1374*, ed. A. Nicolaou-Konnari and C. Schabel (Leiden: Brill, 2005) with extensive bibliography; N. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1313–1378* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2010).

visible because of damage to the paint. She must have carried a cross in her other hand, raised chest high.[2]

Saint Helena is apparently shown alone without her son Constantine I the Great, the first Christian emperor, with whom she is usually depicted in Byzantine monumental painting, flanking the True Cross. Constantine was venerated as a saint only in the Orthodox Church. This might be the reason for his absence here. In the Latin West, by contrast, Saint Helena occurs during this period mainly in narrative scenes related to the story of the True Cross, as for example in the fresco cycle executed by Agnolo Gaddi between 1388 and 1392 in the chancel of the Franciscan friary of Santa Croce in Florence.[3] In the Carmelite church of Famagusta, a legendary story that was recorded by Jeffery, without identifying specific episodes, adorned the borders of the image of Saint Helena. Although the set of these small scenes has vanished without trace, it most probably recounted the legend of the Cross. This *vita* panel, therefore, even allowing for the Byzantine style of its central figure, would rather suggest crusader icons.[4]

Saint Helena's robes repay close examination. She is dressed in a gem-encrusted *loros* over a red gown. Yet the sumptuous white-lined mantle in brownish red hangs loosely over her shoulders and back. This combination also sets Helena's image apart from images of her both in the Latin West and in the Byzantine East. For while the *loros* is primarily associated with Byzantine imperial attire, this particular form of mantle can

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2 C. Enlart, *L'art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre*, 2 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1899), I, 343; idem, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, ed. and trans. D. Hunt (London: Trigraph in association with the A.G. Leventis Foundation, 1987), 271; G. Jeffery, *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus* (Nicosia: W.J. Archer, 1918), 138; P. Plagnieux and T. Soulard, "Famagouste: L'église Sainte-Marie du Carmel", in *L'art gothique en Chypre,* ed. J.-B. de Vaivre and P. Plagnieux (Paris: De Boccard, 2006), 252; T. Soulard, "Les Ordres mendiants à Famagouste: une référence spirituelle et architecturale", in *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta: Studies in Architecture, Art and History,* eds. M. J. K. Walsh, P. W. Edbury and N. S. H. Coureas (Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), 129. The dating is based on the date attributed to the figures of supplicants—originally part of a *vita* panel—which are on the same painting layer, on the southeast bay of the apse: M. Bacci, "Images 'votives' et portraits de donateurs au Levant au Moyen Âge tardif", in *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantin*, Actes du colloque international de l'Université de Fribourg (13–15 mars 2008) (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 2012), 294–95, fig. 1.

3 For Constantine and Helena with the True Cross in Byzantine art, see N. Teteriatnikov, "The True Cross Flanked by Constantine and Helena: A Study in the Light of the Post-Iconoclastic Re-evaluation of the Cross", *Deltion tes Khristianikes Archaiologikes Hetaireias,* 19.4 (1995), 169–88. For the legend of the True Cross including episodes dealing with Helena in the art of Western Europe, see B. Baert, *A Heritage Of Holy Wood: The Legend Of The True Cross In Text And Image* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), esp. 350–451, and figs 78a-h (for photos of the frescoes by Agnolo Gaddi depicting episodes from the legend of the True Cross in Santa Croce, Florence).

4 Jeffery, *Historic Monuments*, 138. On the *vita* icons see N. Patterson Ševčenko, "The *Vita* Icon and the Painter as Hagiographer", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999), 149–65. See also J. Folda, "Crusader Art in the Kingdom of Cyprus, c. 1275–1291: Reflections on the State of the Question", in *Cyprus and the Crusades, Papers given at the International Conference 'Cyprus and the Crusades' (Nicosia, 1994)*, ed. N. Coureas and J. Riley Smith (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1995), 209–37, esp. 216–22.

be found in contemporary Western royal imagery. Thus the image of Saint Helena in the Carmelite church, by combining the imperial *loros* and the royal mantle, challenges both regional and courtly boundaries of costume.

This combination of imperial and royal robes is closely matched in the costumes of the king of Cilician Armenia and staunch ally to the crusader rulers, King Levon III, and Queen Keran, as they are portrayed in a gospel book of 1272. Each figure wears a *loros* under the royal fur-lined mantle.[5] The same combination was utilized even earlier to depict Helena (inscription: "Helena Regina") holding an orb in the now lost twelfth-century mosaic decoration in the Calvary chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem—the church built by Helena herself after her alleged discovery of Christ's cross. This decoration, in the centre of the kingdom of Jerusalem, was directly sanctioned by crusader King Fulk of Anjou and Queen Melisende.[6] It appears that depictions of a *loros* in art had already cut across political barriers in the neighbouring kingdoms of the eastern Mediterranean. The use of robes to manifest power and authority in a Christian milieu of the Levant followed more diverse lines than it did further west in the Byzantine and Western world. The Carmelites of course originated from Mount Carmel in the former crusader Palestine, and the image of Saint Helena at their Famagustan establishment-in-exile resonated with their crusader-oriented visual legacy. In this respect Helena's image echoing her portrayal in the Holy Sepuchre is consonant with the Carmelite rite which adopted the rite of the Holy Sepulchre and included eastern and western elements.[7]

The visual evidence from late medieval Cyprus reveals that the mixture of royal and imperial elements in costume held an allure for people associated with the lost crusader regions. Saint Helena is represented in the royal mantle coupled with the imperial *loros* in two scenes of a narrative cycle presenting the legend of the True Cross in the *naos* of the Orthodox church of the Holy Cross Agiasmati in the Troodos mountains. The legend was painted probably in 1494 by Philip Goul, who due to his surname is

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5 For this illustration in Library of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, Ms. 2563, fol. 380r, see H. C. Evans, "Imperial aspirations: Armenian Cilicia and Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century", in *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium: Papers from the Thirty-third Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Warwick, Coventry, March, 1999*, ed. A. Eastmond (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 243–56.

6 Helena was recorded as being depicted "in habitu Regio & Imperiali", that is, in royal and imperial clothing, by F. Quaresmius, *Historica, theologica et moralis Terrae Sanctae elucidatio*, vol. 2, chap. 39 (Antwerp: Ex officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, 1639), 459. G. Kühnel, "Heracles and the Crusaders: Tracing the Path of a Royal Motif", in *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, ed. D. H. Weiss and L. Mahoney (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 64–9, fig. 4.3 (an eighteenth-century watercolour copy, made by Elzear Horn at the site of the Calvary chapel documenting the twelfth-century mosaic representation of Helena and Heraclius).

7 C. Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem: A Study and a Catalogue of the Manuscript Sources* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 44; F. Andrews, *The Other Friars: The Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge/Rochester: Boydell, 2006), 51.

believed by most scholars to have been a Syrian.[8] Meanwhile, at the church of Saint Anne in Famagusta, which was presumably affiliated with the former Benedictine community in Jerusalem, Saint Catherine on the south wall of the nave wears under the royal mantle a robe with gem-encrusted cuffs associated with the Byzantine imperial *epimanikia*. On the same wall, again in the nave, Saint Helena is attired in a *loros* under a mantle similar in form yet strikingly adorned with medallions containing double-headed eagles (the figures of both saints date to ca. 1400).[9]

The particular placement of Saint Helena's figure at both the Carmelite and the Benedictine churches of Famagusta reflects the elevated position Helena enjoyed in the eyes of their communities. At the Carmelite church Saint Helena is represented in the sacred space of the sanctuary. What is more, her placement above the space between the doors once leading to the sacristy and the conventual buildings including the cloister increased her visibility among the Carmelite friars in particular. At the Benedictine church, where Saint Helena is represented in the nave, her presence with the Virgin *Nikopoios* at her side is quite remarkable.

The explanation for these placements lies possibly in the prominence accorded to Helena in crusader culture. The crusaders themselves promoted the feast of the *Inventio Crucis* that singled out Saint Helena.[10] Indeed this liturgical solemnity held on 3 May concentrated solely on Helena's reputed finding of Christ's cross in Jerusalem. This feast was among the manifestations of piety and devotion to the True Cross that were preferred for preaching the crusade. Furthermore, on these feast days of the cross the crusade propaganda campaigns were sometimes launched by the pope.[11] In his fourteenth-century rhymed chronicle, *La prise d'Alixandre*, Guillaume de Machaut mentions that on the feast day of the Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday King Peter I of Cyprus was encouraged to undertake a crusade while he was praying before the cross at the Benedictine convent of Stavrovouni. This must have been the cross of the Penitent Thief, which in the late medieval times was believed to be preserved at Stavrovouni after having been brought there by Saint Helena who also embedded a particle of the

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8 A. Stylianou and J. A. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus: Treasures of Byzantine Art* (Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation, 1997), 40, 188, 213-14, fig. 113. The two scenes in which Saint Helena is dressed in a mantle over a *loros* are the presentation to Helena of the three unearthed crosses of Christ and the two thieves, and Christ's cross identified after it performed a miracle on a dying woman.

9 P. Plagnieux and T. Soulard, "Famagouste: L'église Sainte-Anne (Bénédictines de Sainte-Anne de Jérusalem)", in *L'art gothique en Chypre*, 261-2, fig. 4 (for the image of Saint Catherine); Enlart, *L'art gothique,* 355; idem, *Gothic Art*, 279; Jeffery, *Historic Monuments*, 142. The painting depicting Saint Helena is today covered with plaster. The *loros* can be discerned draped over her left forearm in a black-and-white photo now kept in the Department of Antiquities, Nicosia (Acc. No. J15613).

10 Kühnel, "Heracles and the Crusaders", 72.

11 C. T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 108, 111–22; idem, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 4, 23–24.

True Cross in it.[12] By then, the cross had become the potent symbol of the crusade in general, and the redemptive role of the cross in the spiritual scheme of salvation was promoted in crusade sermons. This spiritual exegesis of the cross remained applicable into the fourteenth century, as is revealed, for example, in a surviving crusade sermon of the Benedictine Pierre Roger, archbishop of Rouen, the future Pope Clement VI.[13] In all these ways Saint Helena was intimately linked with crusade spirituality.

Seen from the crusader perspective, the depiction of Saint Helena on the apse wall around the high altar of the Carmelite church could be interpreted as complementing papal policies concerning the dissemination in Cyprus of the crusades. Like the other mendicant orders on the island, the Carmelite order was also involved during the fourteenth century in delivering sermons to propagate the crusades. For instance, according to a letter written on 30 June 1345, Pope Clement VI instructed the Carmelite prior general and friars of his order to preach a new crusade. This papal letter coincided with the Carmelites' move to incorporate preaching among their primary activities.[14] The *vita* panel of Saint Helena set up at about that time and presumably recounting the legend of the cross could have been an added inspiration for the Carmelite friars to preach the crusade in accordance with the pope's instructions. Crusade sermons included stories to encourage the faithful to take up the cross and to go on a crusade. For example, the Dominican Pierre de la Palud, patriarch of Jerusalem and acting bishop of Limassol, recounted in an extant crusade sermon the story of the cross taken from a legend current in late medieval times. This notable preacher delivered this sermon apparently before King Philip VI of France and probably in 1332, shortly after the preacher's return from Cyprus. As his sermon reveals, this legend included Helena's discovery of the cross and restoration of its cult.[15] The story of her discovery was included in model sermons about the cross that were used by the crusade preachers to

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12 Guillaume de Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, trans. J. Shirley (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 24. For this particle of the True Cross see Leontios Makhairas, *Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled 'Chronicle'*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), I, ed. R. M. Dawkins, 8; Nicolas de Martoni, *Liber peregrinationis ad loca sancta*, ed. L. Le Grand, in L. Le Grand, "Relation du pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni", *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 3 (1895), 635–636.

13 For this crusade sermon of July 1333 in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Latin 3293, fol. 249r, cols. 1–11, as well as the sermon written between 1316 and 1335 for Vivien de Montaut, canon of Rodez and Le Puy, and kept now in Florence, Laurentian Library, Collection Leopoldina-Gaddiana, MS. 116, fol. 76v, cols. 1–11, see C. J. Tyerman, *The French and the Crusade, 1313-1336* (D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1981), 360.

14 *Bullarium Carmelitanum plures complectens summorum Pontificum Constitutiones ad Ordinem Fratrum Beatissimae, semperque Virginis Dei Genitricis Mariae de Monte Carmelo spectantes*, ed. E. Monsignano, 2 vols. (Rome: G. Plachi, 1715), II, 581–83; N. Coureas, "Philippe de Mézières' Portrait of Peter Thomas as a Preacher", *Carmelus* 57 (2010), 64–65; idem, *Latin Church in Cyprus*, 372.

15 For this crusade sermon in Clermont Ferrand, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 46, fos. 215r–220v, see J. Dunbabin, *A hound of God: Pierre de la Palud and the Fourteenth-Century Church* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 143–44, 174–77.

justify the crusades.[16] Thus, it could be argued that the *vita* panel of Saint Helena in the Carmelite sanctuary, designed to be seen primarily by the clergy, would, in the course of crusade preaching, serve as a counterpart to such *exempla* related to the story of the cross. Within the crusader ambiance at the Carmelite church of Famagusta, this image of Saint Helena holding the cross could have served in this fashion as a visual articulation of the argument for the crusade.

The use of images by the preachers of the crusades to increase crusading fervour was already advocated in the mid-1260s by the master general of the Dominican order, Humbert of Romans. In his treatise *Liber sive tractatus de predicacione crucis contra Sarracenos infideles et paganos* he demonstrated the link between crusading sermons and visual culture. In particular, Humbert instructed the friars who were charged with crusade preaching to note images which could be used to illustrate and enhance their message and ultimately to stir the crusading passions of their audience. He also encouraged them to mention images that recalled the lives and legends of saints and other illustrious forebears. In the sermons included in his treatise Helena is presented as a model pilgrim, an image designed to help preachers to promote the idea of crusading as a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[17] One can imagine that the probable depictions in the *vita* panel of Saint Helena's legendary discovery of the True Cross in the Holy Land during her journey there could have been a useful preaching aid for the Carmelite friars.

The *vita* panel of Saint Helena can also be associated with the relic of the True Cross, recorded in the Carmelite church in 1394. The relic would have been a great asset for the Carmelites in preaching the crusade if it was housed there earlier.[18] It is possible that this relic was even carried in litanies during which financial support for the crusades were sollicited.[19] The image of Saint Helena holding the cross in conjunction with the precious relic of the True Cross, imbued with spiritual authenticity, could have thereby had an increased resonance in making the propagation of the crusade more effective.

It is likely that the Carmelite Peter Thomae, a pre-eminent ecclesiastical figure in the Latin East, preached the cross at the Carmelite church of Famagusta during his stay at its convent in 1358. As a papal legate he eagerly promoted the crusade himself

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16 Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, 111–22, esp. 112–14, Appendix 2. See also idem, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*; and P. J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1991).

17 For the use of images as preaching aids in Humbert's *De predicacione crucis* from an early manuscript in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 3847, fols. 8v-9r, see Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades,* 202–17. See also idem, "Humbert of Romans and the Crusade", in *The Experience of Crusading*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) I, ed. M. Bull and N. Housley, 157–74.

18 Martoni, *Liber peregrinationis,* 630.

19 For litanies in the course of furthering the crusades see K. M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant , 1204–1571*, 4 vols. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1976–1984), II, 294.

and as well appointed vicars for preaching the crusade. Even when plague was raging in Famagusta in the early 1360s, Peter was busy raising money for the crusades. During this calamity, he took the opportunity to organize a procession throughFamagusta—presumably with his newly acquired relic of the True Cross, which he later used as his standard in the crusade against Alexandria. He also preached the crusade in northern Italy. Unfortunately none of Peter Thomae's sermons written to inspire and win over the *crucesignati* and *crucesignandi* have survived. It is known that his preaching inflamed the enthusiasm of the crusader recruits in Rhodes bound for Alexandria. In Cyprus he preached on the mystery of the cross and the passion of Christ to the crusading forces gathered on the island in 1365.[20] His presence in Famagusta must therefore have played an influential role in the preaching and propagation of the crusade. Given all this evidence about crusading preaching, a crusading interpretation of Saint Helena gains added resonance, over and above all the usual interpretations that we might associate with her. Her image becomes a more definite and loaded statement about the Holy Land.

Enlart recorded, on the wall opposite Saint Helena, a wall painting imitating a Gothic tapestry, datable to around 1350–1370 (fig. 4). This now lost painting adorned the dado of the northernmost bay of the apse. This wall painting imitating the features of a Gothic tapestry consisted of a repeated pattern of quadrilobes that enclose heraldic shields interconnected by lozenges that contain crosses. Among the seven shields he discerned, he was able to identify those bearing the royal arms of France (*semé de fleur-de-lis*) next to the coat of arms of England (*three lions passant*).[21] We need to recall that there was no long-term peace between France and England in this period; yet here the two kingdoms appear as allies. A possible way of reading this theme is as crusader rhetoric. Pope Urban V, faced with the threat of mercenary companies who had previously been fighting in the wars between France and England, sought to bring peace by diverting them from ravaging Avignon to a new crusade to the East. This crusade became the one led by the King Peter I of Cyprus against Alexandria in 1365.[22] In this painting, it seems that the cross inside each lozenge connects the powers that backed the crusade.

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20 *The Life of* Saint Peter Thomas by Philippe de Mézières, ed. J. Smet (Rome: Institum Carmelitanum, 1954), passim; Coureas, 'Peter Thomas as a Preacher', 63–79; R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "Philippe de Mézières's Life of Saint Pierre de Thomas at the Crossroads of Late Medieval Hagiography and Crusading Ideology", Viator 40.1 (2009), 242–46. It remains elusive whether the Cross relic attested in the Carmelite church of Famagusta in 1394 was taken from the relic given in 1360 to Peter Thomae by the Christians of Syria. The legate's Cross relic was carried in a processional cross in the crusade of Alexandria in 1365, and was with him on his deathbed at the Carmelite convent of Famagusta in early 1366. What we know is that this processional cross was bequeathed to Philippe de Mézières who in turn presented it to the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista in Venice, where the relic is still housed. See Life of Saint Peter Thomas, 145, n. 4, with further bibliography.

21 Enlart, L'art gothique, 345, fig. 217; idem, Gothic Art, 272, fig. 229; Jeffery, Historic Monuments, 138. For an early photograph showing remnants of this painting see J.-B. de Vaivre, *Monuments médiévaux de Chypre. Photographies de la mission de Camille Enlart en 1896* (Paris: ACHCByz, 2012), 152.

22 *Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, 126; Coureas, *Latin Church in Cyprus*, 112-18.

Yet if we look at the composition in this way, expecting it to be a reflection of the European support Peter I had secured for his Alexandrian crusade, we would consider the message conveyed by this display to be misleading. For the European support the king of Cyprus secured from France, England, Germany and Italy for this crusade was trifling compared to the overwhelming contribution of the Cypriot and Hospitaller forces. I suggest that this elaborate display of power and pageantry reflects Peter's aspiration to form a crusader naval league. The king had long envisioned the Christian recovery of the Muslim-occupied Holy Land.[23] As his crusade intentions were presented to Pope Urban V by the Carmelite Peter Thomae, this particular painting's presence in the Carmelite church seems appropriate. Thus it is tempting to speculate that this pageantry was perhaps created to assist the Carmelites who preached the cross to stir up enthusiasm for the crusade. Above all, this tapestry reveals most explicitly the upsurge of crusader fervor at the time of King Peter I.

Above this painting, the array of hierarchs, alternately clad in Orthodox and Latin ecclesiastical garbs, should perhaps be seen as the projection of another idealized union (fig. 5). After all, the striving to bring about a union between the Orthodox and Latin Churches in face of the Muslim threat was another aspect of crusading rhetoric. This painting showing the hierarchs is likewise datable to around 1350-1370.[24] It can be viewed in the present context as a deliberately placed image consonant with the representation by Philippe de Mézières, the contemporary Chancellor of the Kingdom of Cyprus, of the Carmelite Peter Thomae's deeds to bring about the union of the Churches.[25]

But how did crusader propaganda, as is read in these subtly manipulated images, enter the sanctuary of the Carmelite church? It is known that the Carmelite Peter Thomae crowned Peter I as king of Jerusalem in the Latin cathedral of Saint Nicholas in Famagusta in 1360. As a zealous crusade ideologist, he himself supported King Peter's crusader plans. The Carmelite Peter Roceta, in turn, must have played a

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23 *Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, 96-97, 102; P. Edbury, "Machaut, Mezieres, Makhairas and Amadi: Constructing the Reign of Peter I (1359–1369)", in *Philippe de Mézières and His Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and K. Petkov (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 355–57.

24 Enlart, *L'art gothique*, 345; idem, *Gothic Art* , 271–72; Jeffery, *Historic Monuments*, 138; Plagnieux and Soulard, "L'église Sainte-Marie du Carmel", 252; Soulard, "Les Ordres mendiants à Famagouste", 129; de Vaivre, *Monuments médiévaux de Chypre*, 152; M. Bacci, "Arte e raccomandazione dell'anima nei domini latini del Levante: alcune riflessioni", in *Oltre la morte. Testamenti di Greci e Veneziani redatti a Venezia o in territorio greco-veneziano nei sec. XIV–XVIII*, ed. C. Maltezou and G. Varzelioti (Venice 2008), 138, fig. 4. For the dating of this painting see idem, "Syrian, Palaiologan, and Gothic murals in the 'Nestorian' church of Famagusta", *Deltion tes Khristianikes Archaiologikes Hetaireias,* 27.4 (2006), 216–17, fig. 7. For a discussion of this painting and the plausible identification of the Orthodox-clad saints from left to right with Apostle Barnabas and Bishop Epiphanios see M. Paschali, "Negotiating Identities in Fourteenth-Century Famagusta: Saint George of the Greeks, the Liturgy and the Latins", in *Identity / Identities in Late Medieval Cyprus*, ed. T. Papacostas and G. Saint-Guillain, Proceedings of the joint Newton Fellowship and ICS Byzantine Colloquium organized by King's College London (forthcoming).

25 *Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, 74–80.

connecting role between the papal legate, the king and Pope Urban V; for he was Peter Thomae's close companion on one of his missions, then familiaris of King Peter I and his chaplain before serving as papal chaplain at the king's request.[26] In addition, the ties of loyalty between the Carmelite friary of Famagusta and the royal house are underlined by the royal coats of arms painted above the two aumbries on the central bay of the apse (fig. 6)—most probably before 1374 – and those carved just below the traceried window on the west façade of the church—probably in the 1320s or 1330s. The royal arms behind the main altar in the sacred space of the sanctuary bears witness to the involvement of the royal family of the Lusignans, at least to some extent, in the mural decoration of the sanctuary. Together with the arms of the Lusignan kingdom of Cyprus (barry of eight *argent* and *azure*, a lion *gules*), the arms of Jerusalem (*argent*, a cross potent between four crosslets *or*) were also painted on the central bay of the apse and were carved just below the window of the west façade.[27] They proclaimed the kingdom's bid for power in Jerusalem as concretely as the expanded titles adopted by the kings of Cyprus, who claimed the title of king of Jerusalem.

At the Carmelite convent the arms of Jerusalem feature as well on a stone block, likely from the portal lintel once crowning the west entrance to the church.[28] The arms of Jerusalem were remarkably given their place of honour both in the putative lintel and in the arrangement of the three shields below the window of the façade. The central position of the arms of Jerusalem related the Carmelite friary with, most notably, the former crusader kingdom of Jerusalem from where the Carmelites originated but which they were forced to abandon after the fall of Acre in 1291. All these heraldic devices found at the Carmelite convent suggesting an identification with the royal family further enable us to associate the images discussed here with the crusader agenda of the kingdom of Cyprus.

It should be noted that while the crusade of King Peter against prosperous Alexandria in 1365 had been proclaimed as a holy war, the motives were primarily

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26 Urbain V, *lettres communes*, no. 5440; *Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, 66–67.

27 For an early photograph showing the royal arms on the central bay of the apse in a much better state of preservation see de Vaivre, *Monuments médiévaux de Chypre*, 155. G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940-1948), II, 72 recorded what Theophilus Mogabgab deciphered in these coats of arms that are partly covered by a later wall painting. As regards these painted coats of arms, it is important to note here that the engraving by Enlart, *L'art gothique*, 342-44, also in idem, *Gothic Art*, 270–71, and the description by Jeffery, *Historic Monuments*, 138 are misleading. For the carved coats of arms see also Plagnieux and Soulard, "L'église Sainte-Marie du Carmel", 256; M. Olympios, "Networks of Contact in the Architecture of the Latin East: The Carmelite Church in Famagusta, Cyprus and the Cathedral of Rhodes", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 162 (2009), 32–33, 45, fig. 4 (a photo of the central shield with the arms of Jerusalem integrated into the façade).

28 W.-H. Rudt de Collenberg, "L'héraldique de Chypre", *Cahiers d'héraldique,* 3 (1977): 87–158, esp. fig. 27, no. 9. The arms of Jerusalem appear also on one of the keystones of the nave's vaults.

commercial.[29] Can these material motives underlying the crusader rhetoric possibly be traced in the apse murals? Three Latin merchants, residents of Famagusta, are notably represented among a group of five supplicant donors in a *vita* panel on the southeast bay of the apse (fig. 7).[30] They are portrayed on the same painting layer as the ideologically charged image of Saint Helena. Their spiritual concerns can be read in their representation as supplicants. But their underlying material concerns should, at present, remain a matter of speculation given the lack of additional evidence.

Regardless of any material motives, what is of the essence is that the image of Saint Helena holding the orb as an implement of power and echoing her particular crusader portrayal in Jerusalem adroitly embodied the newly asserted crusader authority of the kingdom of Cyprus in the fourteenth century. The subtly manipulated images in the sanctuary were, most notably, in accord with the crusader aspirations and political ambitions of Hugh IV and his successor Peter I. On the whole, this sophisticated, though episodic, apse decoration of the Carmelite church links this mendicant order's mission, and its ideas about piety and power to the ideology of the fourteenth century crusades.

29 Edbury, "Crusading Policy of King Peter I of Cyprus", 90–105.

30 M. Bacci, "Images 'votives' et portraits de donateurs", 293–95, fig. 1; idem, "Arte e raccomandazione", 138, fig. 3. See also Enlart, *L'art gothique*, 344, fig. 216; idem, *Gothic Art* , 271, fig. 226. The merchants' membership in a local confraternity, indicated by their tippets, demonstrates that they were residents of Famagusta, rather than passing through. These tippets, worn inside the choir when assisting in the rituals, are reminiscent of the choir vestments worn by some of the Florentine merchants of the Compagnia di Sant'Agnese attached to Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence. For images of them on the leaves of the lavish Laudario di Sant'Agnese (ca. 1340s) see C. Sciacca, *Florence at the Dawn of the Renaissance: Painting and Illumination, 1300-1350* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2012), 254, 266, 281.

IDENTITY MARKERS IN THE ART OF FOURTEENTH-CENTURY FAMAGUSTA

Michele Bacci

The monuments of Famagusta have received much more attention in recent years than in the entire century separating us from Camille Enlart's pioneering work on *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, published in 1899.[1] In my opinion, the slow formation of an art-historical debate in and about Cyprus in general and the practical difficulties connected to the awkward political situation on the island does not sufficiently explain this long-standing lack of interest.[2] Indeed, Famagusta was well known and acknowledged as a necessary stop for tourists at least until the dramatic events of 1963 and 1974: the *Guide Bleu de la Méditerranée orientale*, for example, recommended in 1953 a visit to the town because of its impressive Gothic cathedral and the "curious" mural paintings preserved in its churches.[3] In this way, cultured travellers going on a Mediterranean cruise were encouraged to view this town as a strange outpost of Western Europe in the picturesque Levant. This attitude can be interpreted as a direct corollary of Count Mas Latrie's and Enlart's reading of Famagustan art as an unquestionable testimony to the fixity of French culture in this part of the world.[4]

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1 C. Enlart, *L'art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1899); idem, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, transl. D. Hunt (London: Trigraph, 1987). The most recent surveys of Famagustan monuments include: A. G. Marangou, *Ammochostos, he historia tes poles* (Nicosia: Imprinta, 2005); J.-B. de Vaivre and Ph. Plagnieux, eds., *L'art gothique en Chypre* (Paris: De Boccard, 2006), 218–96; M. Bacci, "La concepción del espacio sagrado en la Famagusta medieval", *Studium Medievale* 3 (2010), 79–101; *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta: Studies in Architecture, Art and History*, ed. M. Walsh, P. W. Edbury and N. S. H. Coureas (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

2 On the material vicissitudes of Famagustan monuments and their painted decorations in the 20th century see especially M. Walsh, "What Lies Beneath: A Contemporary Survey of the Surviving Frescoes of the Churches in the Syrian Quarter of Famagusta", in *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta*, ed. Walsh, Edbury and Coureas (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 199–215.

3 *Les Guides Bleus. Méditerranée orientale* (Paris: Hachette, 1953), 256–7.

4 On such leitmotifs of early literature on Famagusta and Cyprus, see M. Bacci, "L'arte delle società miste del Levante medievale: tradizioni storiografiche a confronto", in *Medioevo: arte e storia*, ed. A. C. Quintavalle, Proceedings of the international symposium, Parma, 18–22 September 2007 (Milan, 2008), 339–54.

Architectural evidence functioned as the major argument to confirm the theory of Famagusta's "Frenchness". The imposing appearance of the town cathedral of Saint Nicholas was considered a self-evident demonstration of this assumption. The presence of murals was undoubtedly more controversial, especially because contemporary scholarship was accustomed to think that French Gothic churches were not decorated with frescoes—essentially because only a few remnants had survived the sixteenth-century religious wars, the Counterreformation, and the destruction caused by the French Revolution. Given the lack of useful *comparanda* from France it was safer to link such frescoes with Italy, where mural painting was much more widespread: this enabled Enlart and his readers to rule out any possible association with the Byzantine tradition, which would have been interpreted as an unnatural hybridization. For Enlart was convinced that styles, perceived as integral manifestations of a people's innate spirit, could not combine with each other, except in moments of irreversible cultural decadence. Any such phenomena were not worthy of consideration, given that they constituted proof of the passive imitation of both old-fashioned models and other peoples' forms. The outcome was the making of absurd and "bastardized" works, unworthy of scientific attention.[5]

Notwithstanding Enlart's arguments, it was evident that the Famagustan murals could hardly be interpreted in traditional stylistic terms. Greek scholars occasionally made efforts to claim them as belonging to the Byzantine artistic tradition by singling out the works displaying the most easily recognizable Palaiologan elements: Georgios Sotiriou published a detail from the Passion cycle in Saint George of the Greeks, labelled in the corresponding caption as a "typical" example of fourteenth-century Byzantine painting, although with some Italian influence,[6] while Athanasios Papageorgiou laid special emphasis on the "Byzantineness" of the Gospel scenes decorating the upper walls of Saint Anne's, without commenting, however, on the peculiar choice of saints in the lower portions of the same walls.[7]

Contemporary scholars, including myself, have become accustomed to mistrusting stylistic analysis because of its subjective, often naïve character, which has been the object of much criticism in the last two decades. We have basically shifted our focus from the intrinsic, "epiphenomenal" peculiarities of artworks, and more specifically of images, to their functions, symbolic and material power, and visual efficaciousness. In addition, we have frequently renounced the concept of examination of style as a valid artistic medium, capable of transmitting meaning and mediating the beholders' emotional and visual response. Indeed, the use of style by artists and their patrons in such a composite and multilayered context as Famagusta should not be regarded as mere visual

5 Enlart, *Gothic Art*, 69, 509.

6 G. Soteriou, *Ta byzantina mnemeia tes Kyprou. A. Leukoma* (Athens: Akademia Athenon, 1935), pl. 98.

7 A. Papageorgiou, "L'art byzantin de Chypre et l'art des croisés. Influences réciproques", *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus* (1982), 217–226.

evidence mirroring the cultural attitudes of specific artists or donors, but rather as a communication strategy, aiming at satisfying the visual needs of different human groups and at conveying associations with symbolic patterns of self-representation not only in religious-cultural, but also in social terms to a considerable extent.

To state things plainly, art historians have frequently tended to project their own visual repertory of forms onto the extant wall decorations of Famagusta and to look at them as single imports from a variety of different artistic traditions, without working out a more global, and dynamic, vision of the very particular cultural context serving as a background to their invention and shaping. I myself had a somewhat similar experience upon my first encounter with the enigmatic fresco depicting Mary Magdalene and an angel holding the mantle of a now vanished figure in the so-called Nestorian church, known in Greek as Agios Georgios Exorinos (Fig. 1). This mural was quoted by Enlart as one of the most evident examples of fourteenth-century Gothic painting in Cyprus, being best paralleled, in his view, by contemporary Sienese frescoes, including those decorating the palace of the Popes in Avignon. It was the only painting in the church to be sketched in colour by the French scholar and to be reproduced in his 1899 book.[8]

The deep blue or ultramarine background, the compositional structure as a tripartite mural retable, the frame inhabited by vegetal ornaments and quadrilobes including coats-of-arms, as well as the iconography (Mary's long, unveiled hair, the angel holding the mantle, etc.) are indeed much in keeping with fourteenth-century Italian art, to such an extent that one could easily attribute the authorship to an immigrant painter from the Italian peninsula. This was the view that I expressed with some reservations in my preliminary study of the Nestorian church in 2006, arguing that the work corresponded rather strictly to central Italian patterns of mural decoration during the first half of the *Trecento*.[9]

But my view was to some extent too categorical. There were in fact some Morellian features (minimal details in the rendering of body-parts and physiognomic devices) which could be interpreted in somewhat contrary ways, depending on whether they were perceived from an Italian or a Byzantine viewpoint. The rendering of the round-shaped earlobes, so evident in the figure of Mary Magdalene (Fig. 2), is usually interpreted in Italian scholarship as a clue to an early date within the 14th century, given that it is associated with formulas commonplace in the thirteenth-century "maniera greca", an artistic trend characterised by the imitation of Byzantine models. Since it is traditionally assumed that *Trecento* art, inaugurated by Giotto's innovations, must be

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8 Enlart, *Gothic Art*, 69, 285. His coloured sketch is reproduced in *Monuments médiévaux de Chypre. Photographies de la mission de Camille Enlart en 1896*, ed. J.-B. de Vaivre and Ph. Plagnieux (Paris, 2012), p. 141.

9 M. Bacci, "Syrian, Palaiologan, and Gothic Murals in the 'Nestorian' Church of Famagusta", *Deltion tes christianikes archaeologikes hetaireias*, ser. IV, 27 (2006), 207–220.

read in evolutionary terms as a progressive abandoning of all persisting Byzantinizing elements, the presence of Mary's peculiarly rendered earlobe in the Famagusta fresco should be interpreted as a hint to its early date, let us say in the 1310s or 1320s at the very latest.

This, however, is in contradiction with another and much more fundamental iconographic issue. Mary Magdalene's long and uncovered hair is a rare scheme occurring only sporadically in some later works, such as Paolo Veneziano's mid-fouteenth-century polyptych in Piran and Cecco di Pietro's late fourteenth-century altarpiece in Pisa—where, incidentally, it should be observed that both the latter works were produced in very specific contexts, where connections with the Byzantine tradition were much more evident than elsewhere in contemporary Italy.[10] One may add that the most evident Gothic features in this image apparently point to a later date: the intensity of the ultramarine blue, the use of soft colour tones in the vestments, and the delicate pose of the mantle-holding angel are much more in keeping with the artistic trends of the second half of the 14th century. And yet there are some other details which prove to be rather at odds with Italian practice of the same period. The ornamental frame (Fig. 4), perceived in Italy as a fundamental component of church décor, is here rather inaccurately rendered: the painter did not really take the trouble to outline the quadrilobes according to precise geometric patterns, nor did he pay particular attention to the shape of the foliate motifs.

Indeed, the work looks "Italianate" only if we look at it superficially and by separating it from its material context. The mural takes up a large portion of the wall surface in the first bay of the right aisle, in a very prominent position between the two lower windows. Both bays were originally densely covered with frescoes, as is indicated by the many remnants of painting scattered everywhere in this part of the church. Above the Gothic mural, in the upper portion of the wall, a Passion cycle was probably represented: in the upper row to the right it is still possible to discern the dynamic pose of a flagellator from the Flagellation scene (Fig. 5). The presence of this motif makes it plausible to assume that such scenes as, for instance, the Way to Calvary, the Crucifixion and the Lamentation were displayed nearby. Below the Flagellation is represented a monumental figure of Saint Michael: it is a well-known fact that such colossal representations of the *archestrategos* of the celestial army were usually located in Byzantine churches close to doors for apotropaic reasons. This is also the case here, even if the archangel is separated from the entrance on the western side by a small portion of wall decorated with two saints: a holy monk and the Egyptian martyr Menas, represented according to Byzantine conventions in orans pose with the bust of the *Pantokrator* included in a medallion on his chest (Fig. 6).

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[10] F. Pedrocco, *Paolo Veneziano* (Milan: A. Maioli, 2003), pp.196–197; E. Carli, *Pittura pisana del Trecento. La seconda metà del secolo* (Milan: Martello, 1961), p. 88, Fig. 156.

The appearance of this latter figure, with its thin body and rounded head, its delicate colouring, soft modelling and physiognomic accuracy, betrays a very close knowledge of contemporary Palaiologan painting. Scholars have observed that the Palaiologan trends were first introduced into Latin-ruled Cyprus during the 1360s,[11] but the technical skills of the author of this image are unparalleled in the island. Much the same quality can be detected in some extant frescoes in the Carmelite church (cf. the outstanding figure of Saint Nicholas in Latin garb on the north wall) and even more in the nearby Benedictine church of Saint Anne's.[12] The best *comparanda* to the Menas figure in the Nestorian church are encountered in some mural decorations from the 1380s and 1390s from the southern Balkans, where a number of artists from Thessaloniki gave shape to a most distinctive classicizing trend, known in scholarship as the "Morava" school. A comparison with the image of Saint Theodore *Stratilates* in the frescoes of Metropolitan Jovan in Saint Andrew's church on the river Treska near Skopje, dating from ca. 1380, bears witness to such connections: we can recognize analogous bodily proportions, a similar palette, a comparable treatment of the hair and facial features, as well as the same modelling effects, obtained by the broad application of greenish shades on a light ochre preparatory surface.[13]

If one now scrutinizes the image of Mary Magdalene (Fig. 2) on the nearby wall with some attention, it is not difficult to observe that, notwithstanding its iconographic peculiarities, its technical and stylistic qualities are in keeping with the nearby Palaiologan frescoes. Not unlike Menas and the archangel Michael, Mary is characterized by fleshy lips, prominent cheekbones, hair rendered by means of thin brushstrokes (alternating dark brown, light brown and white tones), and a definitely round-shaped head. Moreover, the overall greenish appearance of her face indicates that painters made use of the same modelling technique, consisting—unlike the Italian chiaroscuro—of light green shades applied on an ochre *proplasmos*. Finally, it must be emphasized that no break is detectable in the pictorial surface between the border of the mural panel with Mary Magdalene and the nearby green-painted plaster separating it from the image of the archangel Michael. All these clues make it more than plausible that the author was the same very qualified and skilful Palaiologan painter who was responsible

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11 A. Weyl Carr, "Art", in *Cyprus: Society and Culture 1191–1374*, ed. A. Nicolaou-Konnari and Chr. Schabel (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 285–328, esp. 318–319. In any case J. T. Wollesen, *Patrons and Painters on Cyprus: The Frescoes in the Royal Chapel at Pyrga* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2010), 77 and 109 implies a date already in the first half of the 14th century for the Palaiologan murals of the Royal Chapel at Pyrga.

12 M. Bacci, "Pratica artistica e scambi culturali nel Levante dopo le crociate", in *Medioevo: le officine*, ed. A. C. Quintavalle (Milan: Electa, 2010), 494–510, esp. 503–506. Cf. also J. M. Andrews, "Gothic and Byzantine in the Monumental Arts of Famagusta: Diversity, Permeability and Power", in *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta*, ed. Walsh, Edbury and Coureas, 147–166, esp. 159–164.

13 V.J. Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken in Jugoslawien* (Munich: Pawlak, 1976), 129–131; S. Korunovski and E. Dimitrova, *Macedonia. L'arte medievale dal IX al XV secolo* (Milan: Jaca Book, 2006), 206–10.

not only for all other extant murals in the south nave but for many more frescoes in other town churches.

It is worth stressing that the work was initially meant to decorate a church officiated by a Syriac-rite group in Famagusta. We know that many Arab Christians had fled their native towns in the wake of the Mamluke conquest of the last Latin strongholds on the Lebanese coast in the 1280s and 1290s. In my previous work on the church I pointed out that the iconographic themes selected to embellish the building rule out any possibility of Nestorian affiliation: the visual evocation of the Immaculate Conception through a rather unique image of Saint Anne *Selbdritt* on the north wall of the narthex makes this possibility thoroughly unrealistic.[14] The theological principle underlying this unique representation, displaying both Mary and her mother standing in the orans pose, with Christ in a medallion on the Virgin's chest, would be clearly at odds with Nestorian Mariology and would also hardly be acceptable for either Orthodox or Miaphysite viewers. At the same time, the association with a Syriac-rite community is obviously pointed to by the elaborate *tituli* in vertical *Estrangela* writing accompanying the representations of the saints. Writing was used in the painted decorations of Famagustan churches to publicly manifest the liturgical characteristics of the community officiating in each building: accordingly, we find Greek in the Metropolitan church of Saint George, Latin in Saint Anne's and Our Lady of Carmel, Armenian in the tiny church close to the Carmelite one, and Syriac in St George Exorinos.

A number of clues enable us to gain a sense of the original denomination of the latter church. Style certainly contributes to our appreciation of the community's association with the Syro-Lebanese coast, which constituted an autonomous political entity under Crusader rule—known as the County of Tripoli—between 1109 and 1289. In the south-west corner of the narthex, a mural panel displaying two female saints and a row of another three figures accompanied by *Estrangela* inscriptions (Fig. 7) displays the strongly linear rendering of facial features and folds that is typical of Arab Christian painting in the County of Tripoli and can be compared more specifically to the mid-thirteenth-century cycles in Mar Tadros at Bahdeidat and Mar Charbel in Ma'ad.[15] The Lebanese connection seems to be confirmed by the presence of architectural features (such as the originally single-nave plan with simple groined vaults, elbow-columns, and alternately red and white limestone used to create chromatic effects) paralleled in buildings of the Crusader era in the same area.[16] In any case, the pictorial style is all the more important for its implications: firstly, the Famagustan fresco represents the latest testimony to this specifically Arab Christian trend, which disappears in the Lebanon

14 Bacci, "Syrian, Palaiologan, and Gothic Murals", 212–214.

15 Bacci, "Syrian, Palaiologan, and Gothic Murals", 210–212; M. Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles: Medieval Christian Art in Syria and Lebanon* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 122–124.

16 Bacci, "Syrian, Palaiologan, and Gothic Murals", 208–210.

after the Mamluke conquest of the last Latin strongholds in the 1280s and the final fall of Acre in 1291.[17] Secondly, this feature makes it plausible that its author was a refugee from the Syrian coast, working around 1300 for a Syriac-rite community that had recently settled in Famagusta. This is a meaningful testimony to the activity of immigrant artists in Cyprus and can be associated with the spreading of "Syriac" formulas in late 13th century artistic styles, known in scholarship as the "maniera cypria".[18]

Iconography seems to corroborate this hypothesis. One of the three figures on the east wall, holding a medallion with the crucified Christ, is easily recognizable as Paraskeve, the female martyr personifying the Holy Friday; the Syriac inscription *rwb[t']*, "Friday", confirms this identification. Paraskeve's worship was deeply rooted in the traditions of the local Greek population, but her cult was also appropriated by the other communities settled on the island, including the Latins: her figure, holding an icon of the *Akra Tapeinosis*, was once visible in a now vanished fourteenth-century mural in the Carmelite church, documented by one of Enlart's photographs.[19] Conversely, the bearded monk represented on her left was otherwise quite unknown in Cyprus. The *Estrangela* inscription accompanying this figure reveals his identity as "Mar Nuhra", an obscure early Christian martyr said to be of Persian origins and worshipped exclusively in the predominantly Maronite districts of Jubail and Batroun, in present-day Lebanon.[20] Nuhra or Nohra is the Syriac term for "light", and it is hardly surprising that this figure is still worshipped to this day as the particular protector against eye diseases. An old church, which includes remains of a Roman temple and medieval structures, in the village of Smar Jubail near Batroun is said to mark the place where he was beheaded, and a water drawn from a nearby well is said to have healing power.[21] A number of churches dedicated to him are scattered in the same area, including some within the town of Jubail. Even if his worship seems to have been shared across various Christian

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17 For general assessments of medieval Lebanese mural painting cf. E. Cruikshank Dodd, *Medieval Painting in the Lebanon* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004); N. Hélou, *La fresque (I) dans les anciennes églises du Liban. Régions de Jubail et Batroun* (Mansourié: Alpha, 2007); Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*.

18 For a new assessment of this stylistic connection see A. Weyl Carr, "Iconography and Identity: Syrian Elements in the Art of Crusader Cyprus", in *Religious Origins of Nations? The Christian Communities of the Middle East*, ed. R. B. ter Haar Romeny (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 127–151; idem, "Thirteenth-Century Cyprus: Questions of Style", in *Orient et Occident méditerranéens au XIII^e siècle. Les programmes picturaux* , ed. J.-P. Caillet and F. Joubert (Paris: Picard, 2012), 65–86. Cf. also the critical remarks by D. Kotoula, "'Maniera cypria' and Thirteenth-Century Icon Production on Cyprus: A Critical Approach", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 28 (2004), 89–100.

19 de Vaivre, *Monuments médiévaux*, 154. On the cult in Cyprus cf. D. Mouriki, "The Cult of Cypriot Saints in Medieval Cyprus as Attested by Church Decorations and Icon Painting", in *"The Sweet Land of Cyprus": Papers Given at the Twenty-Fifth Jubilee Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1991*, ed. A. A. M. Bryer and G. S. Georghallides (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1993), 237–277, esp. 253–254.

20 I am indebted to Prof. Sebastian Brock (Oxford) for deciphering the *Estrangela* inscription.

21 Y. Moubarac, *Pentalogie antiochienne. Domaine maronite* (Beirut: Cénacle libanais, 1984), vol. II/2, 722; E. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie* (Paris: Imprimérie impériale, 1864), 247–248.

confessions in the Crusader era, Nuhra was especially popular among the Maronites, including those settled in Cyprus.[22] In the late 15th century the Franciscan friar and Maronite bishop of the island, Gabriel Ibn al-Qila'i Daou (1447–1516), wrote a poem in praise of the saint after a visit to his shrine in Smar Jbail, where he had received a cure for an eye disease.[23]

Indeed, a Maronite affiliation for Saint George Exorinos would also make sense, if one considers the possibility that this Syriac-rite group acknowledging the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Church was perhaps willing to work out visual and compositional formulas, such as the already mentioned and definitely unusual image of Saint Anne *Selbdritt* (Fig. 8), to express its observance of and compliance with devotional patterns widespread among Latin believers. Emphasis on the Mother of Mary was a prominent characteristic of contemporary Western piety and her worship was fostered in Famagusta by the Benedictine nuns, whose church was dedicated specifically to Saint Anne. The theological principle of Mary's Immaculate Conception, which is implied in the Famagustan image, was an object of debate in the Roman church in the 13th and 14th century, but its liturgical worship, being especially encouraged by the Carmelite order, was institutionalized in several European towns, including the Pontifical See at Avignon, in that same period.[24] It can be plausibly assumed that the papal legate Peter Thomas, a fervent Carmelite and Marian devotee, must have played a role in making this devotion popular in Famagusta as well.[25]

Another element making this image so unconventional is its use of a compositional model greatly resembling the contemporary Italian frescoed *Vita*-retables. Self-contained images of holy figures flanked by a small selection of scenes visualizing some of their most notable deeds were frequently displayed in the westernmost part of the nave (i.e. in the space reserved for the laity) to promote the worship of some of the new miracle-workers, especially those associated with the Mendicant orders. Though inspired originally by Byzantine *Vita*-icons (where the scenes usually encircled the figure in the middle), the latter's frescoed versions were never included in the painted decoration of Greek-rite church interiors, whereas they were commonplace in the West. They fitted with the laypeople's tendency to perceive liturgical spaces as liminal places where, on account of the efficacious power of prayers and masses, one could attain definitive salvation of the soul, regardless of the burden of sins one carried on one's shoulders. Isolated wall paintings were used as visual means to publicly communicate before God and

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22 J.-M. Fiey, "De quelques saints vénérés au Liban", *Proche Orient Chrétien*, 28 (1978), 18–43; idem, *Saint syriaques* (Princeton, NJ: The Darwin Press, 2004), 146.

23 V. Sauma, *Sur les pas des saints au Liban* (Beirut: FMA, 2005), 148.

24 E. Boaga, *La Signora del luogo. Maria nella storia e nella vita del Carmelo* (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2001), 62–66.

25 On this figure, see F. J. Boehlke, *Pierre de Thomas: Scholar, Diplomat, and Crusader* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966).

mankind an individual's act of self-dedication to his or her otherworldly intercessors: in this way sinners manifested their repentance, piety and hope of salvation. Frescoed *Vita*-retables can be viewed as particularly sumptuous versions of "pro anima" murals, whereby individuals succeeded in glorifying their saints very munificently and therefore could rightly expect to be rewarded proportionately in the afterlife.[26]

The Latin churches of Famagusta were no exception to this trend. The *Saint Catherine* painted above an arched wall recess on the south wall of the Carmelite church, probably dating from the third quarter of the 14th century, is a case in point: the martyr was shown full-figure under a tri-lobed arch decorated with trifoliate motifs and the beholder could easily guess her extraordinary virtues by glancing at the nearby ten scenes depicted on either side of her.[27] The special visual emphasis on her imprisonment (represented in two panels) immediately reminded believers of the saint's special connection with Famagusta: Catherine's school and prison were worshipped in the ruins of Constantia and Salamis and were well known to European visitors and Holy Land pilgrims.[28]

Frescoed "*Vita*-retables" working as visual strategies to emphasize figures particularly worthy of worship were soon appreciated by non-Latins, in particular the local Armenian community, who agreed to include it in the decoration of the tiny nearby church in order to honour Saint John the Baptist appropriately.[29] At present the mural has been almost fully whitewashed over, but the still visible upper portion and a number of old descriptions witness that the saint was flanked by twelve scenes and that the whole composition was framed by a broad painted band embellished with foliate ornaments and coats-of-arms (including those of an ecclesiastic, displaying a mitre and a crosier on a white shield).[30] Such a feature is, in its turn, in keeping with Italian practice: such ornamental bands were added in Italy in very elaborate and ostentatious versions aiming at emphasizing the role of individual patrons in the visual promotion of a phenomenon involving the cult of a particular saint or of some other biblical figure.

The image of St Anne *Selbdritt* in St George Exorinos (Fig. 8) lacks such an ornamental band, but its association with an individual is signaled by its being displayed, not unlike the Carmelite Saint Catherine, over a wall recess, originally meant to house either a sarcophagus or a structure connected with the performance of prayers or

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26 On such phenomena, see M. Bacci, *Investimenti per l'aldilà. Arte e raccomandazione dell'anima nel Medioevo* (Rome–Bari: Laterza, 2003).

27 Enlart, *Gothic Art*, 272–273; cf. the original photograph and sketch of the fresco in de Vaivre, *Monuments médiévaux*, 254 and 257.

28 L. Calvelli, *Cipro e la memoria dell'antico fra Medioevo e Rinascimento. La percezione del passato romano dell'isola nel mondo occidentale* (Venice, 2009), 157–245.

29 M. Bacci, "The Armenian Church in Famagusta and Its Mural Decoration: Some Iconographic Remarks", *Hask hayagitan taregirk'*, 11 (2007–2008), 489–508, esp. 493–494.

30 Enlart, *Gothic Art*, 288; D. Kouymjian, "The Holy Mother of God Armenian Church in Famagusta", in *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta*, ed. Walsh, Edbury and Coureas (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 133–146, esp. 141; *ibidem*, 308 (typed notes by M. Beardsley).

offices for the spiritual well-being of the dead.[31] The two orans Mothers are flanked by six scenes belonging to the cycle of the Infancy of the Mother of God, and ending with the Presentation of Mary to the Temple in the last panel to the right. Similar programs occur in both Byzantine and Italian *Vita*-icons and triptychs, in association with the Madonna and Child but never with Saint Anne.[32] The Virgin's Presentation, both as an iconographic theme and a liturgical celebration, was well rooted in Byzantine tradition and had been appropriated by the Latin church of Cyprus: in 1372–3 Philippe de Mézières tried to convince the Papal court to institutionalize this solemnity in the whole Western church and composed a specific liturgical drama, possibly inspired by analogous usages witnessed in the island.[33]

The mural retable was integrated into a wider program associated with the decoration of the underneath *arcosolium*, a Gothicizing structure which must have been added to the original narthex in the 1360s or 1370s, when the church was enlarged (Fig. 9).[34] The decoration, which involved the burial niche as well as the nearby portions of wall, must have been carried out somewhat later. A crowned figure, possibly King David (Fig. 10), appears on the intrados of the *arcosolium*, the sculpted frame of which was painted with blue and red bands to an equal amount. Above, the spandrels were decorated with a representation of the Annunciation, whose left element, the archangel Gabriel, is still visible (Fig. 11). Further to the left, the wall was occupied by a large image of the Virgin Orans holding Christ at her breast, flanked by half-length angels (Fig. 12). The Palaiologan elements still detectable in these badly preserved murals and their chromatic palette make it plausible that they were executed by the same hand as that responsible for the paintings in the south aisle.[35]

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31 On this point, see M. Bacci, "Side Altars and '*Pro Anima*" Chapels in the Medieval Mediterranean: Evidence from Cyprus", in *The Altar and Its Environment 1150–1400*, ed. J. E. A. Kroesen and V. M. Schmidt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 11–30.

32 Cf. an early 13th century Byzantine triptych on Mount Sinai: D. Mouriki, "Eikones apo ton 12° os ton 15° aiona", in *Sina, Hoi thesauroi tes Hieras Mones Hagias Aikaterinis*, ed. K. A. Manafis, (Athens, 1990), 101–125, esp. 112. An outstanding Italian example is the majestic panel from the church of San Martino in Pisa, dating from ca. 1270: see M. Burresi and A. Caleca, eds., *Cimabue a Pisa. La pittura pisana del Duecento da Giunta a Giotto*, exhibition catalogue, Pisa, Museo nazionale di San Matteo (Pisa, 2005), 157–159 no. 31.

33 *Philippe de Mézières' Campaign for the Feast of Mary's Presentation*, ed. W. Coleman (Toronto: Pontifical Institute for Medieval Studies, 1981).

34 Cf. the date around 1360 proposed for the wall niche by Ph. Plagnieux and Th. Soulard, "L'église des Nestoriens", in Vaivre and Plagnieux, eds., *L'art gothique en Chypre*, 266–70.

35 A much later date (end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century) has been proposed by I. A. Eliades, "Cypriot Painting and Its Affinity with Italian Art during the Frankish and Venetian Rule: 1191–1571", in *Theotokos/Madonna*, exhibition catalogue, Hellenic Bank, Nicosia, 1–31 July 2005 (Nicosia: Pierides Foundation, 2005), 24–37. This author seems to advocate that the St Anne *Selbdritt*, interpreted as a distinctively Italianate theme, must have reached Cyprus during the Venetian period, even if the rendition of the iconographic theme can hardly be said to mirror Italian conventions (according to which Anne is regularly shown enthroned, holding Mary on her lap).

Arcosolia and *pro anima* chapels in Famagusta tended frequently to be decorated with murals. Besides the already mentioned case of the image of Saint Catherine in Our Lady of Carmel, one can cite the wall niche in Saint Anne's, where the embellishment with an Ascension scene clearly manifests its dead donor's belief in Christ's Resurrection as a preliminary condition to each rightful believer's access to Paradise.[36] In both Saint Anne's and the Carmelite church such wall niches associated with the burial of their patrons and/or the performance of votive masses and anniversaries for their soul's sake were built into the westernmost part of the nave, according to Latin patterns of church decoration. In St George Exorinos an analogous structure (yet somewhat lower) was included in the narthex, i.e. in the antechamber located before the *naos*. Burial within the church is a practice rarely found in Eastern Christianity, but a notable exception is represented by a relatively well-documented Maronite building, the church of Mar Charbel at Ma'ad, near Jubail. In the narthex of this building a marble structure is still preserved which may have originally been the tomb of a Frankish donor who, according to one source, was a baker (or perhaps bore the French name "Boulanger") and gave his money for the refurbishment of the church roof. This monument evidently served as the burial site for the whole family, given that the same text explains that it was used also for his daughter Anna.[37]

We can imagine that something similar occurred in the case of St George Exorinos. A private donor obtained a privileged burial site in the porch for his/her family in exchange for his/her charity and concessions to the church clergy; this might have taken the form of some financial support of the new architectural works. The figurative program around the tomb, including three Marian themes (Virgin Orans, Annunciation, and St Anne *Selbdritt* or Immaculate Conception) indicates that this donor was a devout worshipper of the Virgin Mary and that he/she shared in contemporary Latin devotional trends, even if this does not actually imply that he/she was a Westerner by birth and culture. Yet, the odd juxtaposition of semantically close images in a limited space can be explained only as the outcome of a private donor's specific religious orientations, rather than as an autonomous choice of the priests who administered the church.

In comparison with the relatively coherent programs decorating the Greek Orthodox churches of Cyprus, the rather chaotic sequences of iconic and narrative frescoes on the walls of St George Exorinos is much more in keeping with the almost spontaneous and incongruent votive and *pro anima* murals characterizing many contemporary Latin churches. Not unlike the erection of side-altars and tombs in church interiors, the making of isolated images of saints was perceived by the laypeople as a powerful means both to manifest one's dedication to God and to keep the officiating clergy mindful of their liturgical obligations to perform masses for the sake of the indi-

36 Bacci, "Pratica artistica", 504.

37 Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, 105–108.

viduals' souls. Regardless of confessional distinctions, Latins were not averse to making gifts to non-Latin ecclesiastical institutions if the latter enjoyed a widespread reputation of sanctity: such practice is well documented in both the County of Tripoli and Cyprus. Most frequently, a number of visual indicators of the donors' corporate or individual identity (such as portraits, inscriptions or coats-of-arms) were included in the painted ornaments and publicly exhibited as integral part of the church décor.[38] This leads us back to our starting point, the mysterious mural triptych with Mary Magdalene.

As already mentioned, the upper frame of this image displays foliate motifs and quadrilobes including coats-of-arms (Fig. 4), an Italianate set of themes which must have been widespread in Famagusta, given that it was also reproduced in the abovementioned image of the Baptist within the Armenian church. It was originally meant to display the insignia (an eight-pointed star) borne by members of the Embriaco-Gibelet family, the former Genoese lords of Jubail, who emigrated to Cyprus after the final fall of their fief between 1289 and 1299 and survived on their Cypriot properties until 1570. A number of Arab Christians fled to the island with them and maintained close relations with their former lords: this enabled them to claim Genoese nationality and consequently to enjoy a number of fiscal and juridical advantages. Because of this special status they were called "White Genoese", so as not to be confused with *stricto sensu* Genoese citizens.[39] The unusual mural in the south aisle (Figs 1–4) bears witness to these ongoing connections and implies that the decoration of the whole room, made by sophisticated Palaiologan masters, was financially supported by members of the Gibelet family, who wanted their charitable act to be publicly commemorated by the integration of a votive mural in the sequence of saintly figures occupying the lower portion of the walls.

In order to manifest their devotional orientations the members of the family asked Byzantine artists to imitate the compositional, iconographic and stylistic characteristics of a contemporary Italian "pro anima" fresco, possibly one which was to be seen in one of Famagusta's Latin churches. The very peculiar context in which the image was displayed prevents us from imagining that the reproduction of such "epiphenomenal" elements were intended as the overt visual manifestation of the Gibelets' sense of belonging to Italian culture and tradition. Rather, what we are faced with here is a very special case: such "Italianate" forms are being selected as they are felt to give expression to individual devotion in more familiar and efficacious terms than would have been

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38 Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, 161–169; A. Stylianou and J. Stylianou, "Donors and Dedicatory Inscriptions, Supplicants and Supplications in the Painted Churches of Cyprus", *Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 9 (1960), 97–128; M. Bacci, "Images 'votives' et portraits de donateurs au Levant au Moyen Âge tardif", in J.-M. Spieser and É. Yota, eds., *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantin*, (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 2012), 293–308.

39 D. Jacoby, "Citoyens, sujets et protégés de Venise et de Gênes en Chypre du XIII^{e} au XV^{e} siècle", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 5 (1977): 159–188, esp. 162–163.

possible by relying on the traditional Byzantine repertory. The Latins had no difficulties in employing the latter conventions when it came to illustrating the Gospel narratives, as is demonstrated by the Flagellation fragment (Fig. 5) and even more by the cycle in Saint Anne's sponsored in the same period by the Genoese Corrado Tarigo—which is probably another work of the same Palaiologan artists.[40]

In St George Exorinos the Latin patrons aimed at displaying themes strongly associated with contemporary Italian patterns of devotion. Representing Mary Magdalene with long, uncovered hair (Fig. 2) added dramatic intensity to a figure who in Eastern Christian art was never represented alone: it hinted most clearly at her role as a former prostitute and penitent (due to the Western conflation of the identities of Mary of Magdala, Mary of Bethania, and the anonymous woman of *Luke* 7:36–50) and functioned as a reminder of the redemption which could be attained by all sinners. She was, however, a side-figure, her function being to reinforce the devotional meaning of the central composition, which is now represented only by a small, and definitely Gothicizing angel holding the edge of a mantle (Fig. 3). Such a detail was usually associated in Italian art with representations of the so-called Virgin of Mercy, in which the Madonna is displayed extending her mantle over a more or less wide group or community.[41] This theme was especially widespread in Venetian art and by the late 14th century had reached Venetian-ruled Crete, as is revealed by a stylistically mixed mural painting in the church at Sklaverochori.[42] It became especially successful as it was regarded as an efficacious visual means to manifest a whole community's act of self-dedication to Mary during especially dangerous or calamitous times, such as sieges and pestilences. It is therefore hardly surprising to find that the worship of the Virgin of Mercy is first witnessed in Famagusta in 1348, the year of the terrible Black Death: a document states that a church dedicated to her was erected outside the town walls during the Plague, and another specifies that it was erected in just one day, as was usual with votive churches. Furthermore, there is archival evidence that the church was perceived in the following years as shrine available to be shared by a range of different confessional groups. It received many testamentary bequests,and in 1363, when a new wave of pestilence struck the whole Mediterranean area, it was concurrently officiated by both Latin and Greek priests. It housed an icon which was most clearly perceived as a kind of palladium or common symbol, worshipped by all the Famagustan communities in situations of extraordinary peril: Pietro Valderio recounts how the image of the Virgin of Mercy

40 Bacci, "Pratica artistica", p. 503.

41 The fundamental study is that of Chr. Belting-Ihm, *Sub matris tutela. Untersuchungen zur Vorgeschichte der Schutzmantelmadonna* (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976).

42 M. Borboudakis, "Paratereseis ste zografike tou Sklaverochoriou", in *Euphrosynon. Aphieroma ston Manoli Xatzedaki*, ed. E. Kypraiou (Athens: Tameio Archaiologikōn Porōn kai Apallōtrioseōn, 1991), I, 375–398, esp. 391.

was carried in procession during the terrible Ottoman siege of 1570–1.[43] It can be reasonably argued that, given the widespread worship for this miraculous icon, the theme of the Virgin of Mercy was familiar to all Christian denominations living in Famagusta. Its reproduction in the Gibelet family's "pro anima" mural in St George Exorinos makes plausible the idea that its patrons aimed at publicly manifesting their devotion or even their peculiar gratitude to the miracle-working Madonna. Likely enough, both the former lords and their former Arab Christian subjects attributed their survival during the different waves of pestilence to her heavenly mediation.

To sum up, the images painted in the Syriac church of Famagusta can hardly be interpreted as expressions of a sharply defined collective identity. They certainly bear witness to the Maronite community's tendency to lay visual emphasis on their liturgical tradition by displaying elaborate inscriptions in vertical *Estrangela* writing and by including in this case at least one saint exclusive to their place of origin. The odd St Anne *Selbdritt* may have been adopted as a way to manifest the Maronites' appropriation of distinctively Latin patterns of devotion, even if the choice of this theme was probably due to the initiative of the private donors buried in the *arcosolium* underneath. These private donors were perhaps the same members of the Gibelet family responsible for the murals in the south aisle. Political affiliation with powerful lords seems to have played a much more decisive role in the artistic expression of group-identity: the private financing of portions of mural decoration enabled them to embellish their church and at the same time to promulgate their social prestige within the multilayered society of Famagusta. In this respect, style was not perceived as indissolubly bound to specific communities: the early fourteenth-century mural with Paraskeve and Nuhra was made by an immigrant artist whose style evidently did not find any continuator, given that artists trained in the Byzantine tradition were charged with the making of the later layers of frescoes. Besides, Palaiologan painting could be reasonably perceived as a kind of luxury ornament, which was used by Greeks, Latins and Eastern Christians in Famagusta to visually promote their wellness and social prominence. On their part, Byzantine masters did not really worry about working for non-Orthodox patrons and made all possible efforts to accommodate the visual needs of the latter, even when they were requested to give shape to unusual themes and compositions, such as the uncommon mural triptych in St George Exorinos.

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[43] See the documents collected in C. Otten-Froux, "Un notaire vénitien à Famagouste au XIV^{e} siècle. Les actes de Simeone, prêtre de San Giacomo dell'Orio (1362–1371)", *Thesaurismata* 33 (2003): 15–149, nos. 9, 175, 185, and *Bullarium Cyprium Vol. III. Lettres papales relatives à Chypre 1316–1378*, ed. Ch. Perrat, J. Richard and Chr. Schabel (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2012), 243 no. t-329, 378 no. v-44, 405 no. v-159, as well as Pietro Valderio, *La guerra di Cipro*, ed. G. Grivaud and N. Patapiou (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1996), 41–42.

PILLARS AND PUNISHMENT: SPOLIA AND COLONIAL AUTHORITY IN VENETIAN FAMAGUSTA

Allan Langdale

Recent years have seen an increase in scholarship dealing with the Venetian empire and with the colonial towns and islands that Venice controlled through the Middle Ages and Early Modern period.[1] Studying Venice's protectorates beyond the confines of its lagoon furnishes a myriad of illuminating case studies where Venetian enterprises can be examined as precursive to later European colonial ventures. For a brief historical period, between 1489 and 1571, the Cypriot port of Famagusta was one of Venice's most strategic and distant possessions.[2] Despite this relatively brief, eighty-two-year tenure, the Venetians undertook dramatic modifications of the town's rich architectural heritage and organized significant embodiments of *venezianitá* ("Venetian-ness"), especially in the city's mural defenses and in the city's core, the piazza of the cathedral of St Nicholas, around which the various signifiers of Venetian hegemony were structured. A noteworthy vehicle of this process of colonial signification and the articulation of Venetian authority in this and other locations was the utilization of *spolia*: reused architectural fragments, in this specific case from the ancient Greco-Roman city of Salamis, the ruins of which lie just six kilometers north of Famagusta.

The Venetians were by no means exceptional in their redeployment of "historical" architectonic and sculptural fragments to embody ideological concepts. Many civilizations before them, and since, used remnants of subjugated or inherited cultures to develop iconographies of conquest or to visually supplement historiographic mythol-

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1 M. Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). The art and architecture of Venetian Crete is compiled in G. Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti nell'Isola di Creta*, *Richerche e descrizioni fatte per incarico del R. Istituto*, 4 vols. (Venice, 1908). For architectural influences from the Middle East, see D. Howard, *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100-1500* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2000). See as well C. Campbell, A. Chong et al., *Bellini and the East* (London: National Gallery, 2005).

2 For a survey of the general visual culture of Venetian Cyprus, see the exhibition catalogue *Cyprus: Jewel in the Crown of Venice* (Nicosia: Leventis, 2003).

ogies. While it may have been convenient to reuse materials—for example, using columns that were ready-made as opposed to quarrying and carving new ones (a compelling pragmatic, rather than programmatic rationale for the use of *spolia*) there is every indication that such remnants were also very consciously curated to convey notions of triumph and/or of the inheritance of the grandeur of past civilizations and to reinterpret old iconographies to new purposes. *Spolia* were not simply convenient; they also carried with them powerful symbolic associations wherein artifacts of the past, and of prior peoples, were reassigned as trophies and as signifiers of a current regime's potency and its continuity with an eminent former civilization. It is with these processes in mind that this paper makes some inferences about how the Venetians may have used *spolia* in Famagusta, or how *spolia* might have been understood in Famagusta during the Venetians' brief time as colonial power. One particular aspect of power will be focused on: the articulation of authority through the threat of physical punishment. The procedure presumes a consistency of iconographies and meanings throughout the Venetian empire, with Venetians in particular being able to recognize local variations in the diverse, yet consistent, arte-factual improvisations.

In an earlier article I dealt with the question of the use of antique *spolia* in the Famagusta cathedral square and how the Venetians may have arrayed the assemblage into a programme consistent with humanist strategies surrounding the "Myth of Venice" and the appropriation of some signifiers of Greco-Roman civilization, in this specific case represented by the ancient city of Salamis.[3] As inheritors of a renaissance humanist tradition, contemporary scholars often find it easy to move in humanist past culture where we find the intellectual environment comfortable.

We are, however, often less sure of ourselves when dealing with vernacular culture, sometimes because of the limitations of the archive, sometimes because of cultural prejudices about the paradigmatic superiority of high culture. This has also been the case when interpreting programmatic exhibitions of *spolia*. Nevertheless, Marilyn Perry demonstrated some time ago how many popular readings could grow up around the pieces of *spolia* in Venice.[4] Similarly, Robert Nelson has recently shown, in the case of the so-called "Pillars of Acre", how Venetian humanists from many eras could be involved in the construction and propagation of spurious but nonetheless ideologically useful popular myths.[5] Since the appearance of Guido Ruggiero's work on crime and

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3 A. Langdale, "At the Edge of Empire: Venetian Architecture in Famagusta, Cyprus", *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 41, no. 1 (2010): 155–198.

4 M. Perry, "St. Mark's Trophies: Legend, Superstition, and Archaeology in Renaissance Venice", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 40 (1977): 27–49.

5 See R. S. Nelson, "The History of Legends and the Legends of History: The *Pilastri Acretani* in Venice", in *San Marco, Byzantium, and the Myths of Venice*, ed. H. Maguire and R. S. Nelson (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., 2010), 63–90; of related interest is A. Cutler, "From Loot to Scholarship: Changing Modes in the Italian Response to Byzantine Artifacts ca. 1200–1750", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): 237–267.

punishment in renaissance Venice,[6] we have been encouraged to consider more closely how Venice controlled its populace with the threat of corporeal violence, and how this threat was conducted as part of an early modern sensibility, that is, an ideological state apparatus that referred to a repressive state apparatus; an expression of the prerogative of the state to torture or kill those who broke its laws. What roles did *spolia*, architecture and related sculpture play in articulating the threat of punishment and in the formation of civic obedience? This question is addressed in Robert Nelson's essay "High Justice: Venice, San Marco, and the Spoils of 1204", which reconsidered *spolia* in the Piazzetta in Venice and proposed their relation to punishment. Nelson's article will be used in the present study to generate a complementary reading of *spolia* in Famagusta.[7]

Famagusta is located on the east coast of Cyprus, facing the shores of the Middle East from whence it gained its wealth—especially in the fourteenth century—and, of symbolic importance for the Venetians, very near ancient Salamis, where virtually all the Famagusta *spolia* came from. For Venetians, the proximity of the legendary medieval city of Famagusta with the equally renowned ancient Greco-Roman city of Salamis lent considerable historiographic charge to Famagusta's status. This illustrious civic progenitor (it is likely that Famagusta was founded by citizens from Salamis who were seeking a better port and higher, healthier ground) was better known to renaissance-era Venetians than it was to the medieval Lusignans, from whom there is little evidence of any fascination with the ancient pedigree of Famagusta/Salamis, except perhaps insofar as it pertained to the local cult of St Catherine, which, in any case, was early Christian rather than classical.[8] Salamis was important not only in ancient Greek times—especially honoured among ancient Greek cities during the reign of its famous King Evagoras (411 to 374 BCE)—but in Roman times as well, when it received imperial patronage from emperors such as Augustus, Trajan, and Hadrian. Ancient writers, including Strabo, listed Salamis first among the most illustrious cities of the eastern Mediterranean. In early Byzantine times, the emperor Constantius II (r. 337 to 361 CE) rebuilt

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6 For example, specifically regarding sex and sex crimes, G. Ruggiero, *Violence in Early Renaissance Venice* and idem, *The Boundaries of Eros: Sex Crime and Sexuality in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

7 R. S. Nelson, "High Justice: Venice, San Marco, and the Spoils of 1204", in *Byzantine Art in the Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade* (Athens, 2007), 143–151.

8 The local cult of St Catherine of Alexandria, who was said to have been born and raised in Salamis, centered on the famous "Tomb of St Catherine". The medieval cult of the saint has been studied in detail in Lorenzo Calvelli, *Cipro e la Memoria dell'Antico fra Medioevo e Rinascimento. La percezione de passato romano dell'isola nel mondo occidentale*, Memorie: Classe di Scienze Morali, Lettere ed Arte 133 (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arte, 2009). The "Prison of St Catherine" is still there, but was unlikely to have ever been a prison, let alone one for St Catherine. It was originally a Bronze Age tomb that was modified in Roman times as a barrel vaulted mausoleum or religious sanctuary. Only in later times did it acquire the association with St Catherine. It was one of the most important pilgrimage sites of medieval Cyprus. For the background and architecture of Salamis, ancient and Byzantine see A. Langdale, *In a Contested Realm. An Illustrated Guide to the Archaeology and Historical Architecture of Northern Cyprus* (Glasgow: Grimsay Press, 2012): 54–87; for St Catherine's tomb see 48–52.

the city after the catastrophic earthquake of 342 CE, and the city was renamed Constantia in his honour. In these early Christian centuries Salamis/Constantia contracted in size, but could still boast of major works of architecture, including two large and venerable basilicas: the early Basilica of Epiphanios and the later Basilica of Campanopetra.[9]

An indication of the centrality of Salamis as a general signifier of Cyprus's glorious past, as perceived by the Venetians, is found in an inscription accompanying a statue of the God of Time, *Chronos*, ensconced on the façade of the Ca' Bembo in Venice:

DVM. VOLVITVR. ISTE IAD.
ASCR. IVSTINOP. VER.
SALAMIS. CRETA. IOVIS.
TESTES. ERVNT. ACTOR. PA IO. SE. M^{v}

As long as this [the sun] rotates, the cities of Zara [Iadra],
Cattaro [Ascrivivum], Capodistria [Iustinopolis], Verona, Cyprus [Salamis], Candia [Creta Iovis] will
give testimony to his actions.[10]

Note that "Salamis" is used in the abbreviated Latin inscription instead of "Cyprus", so central was the identification of that ancient city with the island's celebrated past. Salamenian *spolia* were the physical embodiment of that illustrious history, which the Venetians artfully redeployed in Famagusta to signify their inheritance of Cyprus and to parallel their own empire with that of the ancient Greeks and Romans, who had preceded them long before as rulers of the island and of Salamis in particular.

The Salamenian *spolia* in Famagusta's cathedral square consist of six grey granite columns, four of which were used in the façade of the triple arched gateway, which in the Venetian period fronted the *Palazzo del Proveditore*, the main institutional building signifying Venetian authority (Fig. 1). Two additional columns were set up free standing in front of the cathedral in the main part of the city square. Currently, these columns are situated in front of a medieval Lusignan-era structure—perhaps once part of the bishop's residence—that was modified by the Ottomans to function as a *medrese* or

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9 The cult of St Epiphanios was to survive at Salamis up to around the 9th century until the saint's relics were moved to Famagusta. Famagusta's continuity with Salamis/Constantia is also reflected in the Greek name for Famagusta, Ammochostos. As Salamis waned after the ninth century and the last of its inhabitants left, the ancient city was claimed by sand dunes and earned the nickname "hidden in sand" ("Ammochostos"), and this name was transferred to the current site of Famagusta.

10 From P. Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity, The Venetian Sense of the Past* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1996), 285–86.

Koran school after 1571 when St Nicholas Cathedral was converted into a mosque (Fig. 2). Evidence that these columns once stood in front of the cathedral can be found in a detail from Stephano Gibellino's late sixteenth century print of the siege of Famagusta (Fig. 3; the number 1 on the figure indicates St Nicholas Cathedral), where the columns flank a rectangular object, which, evidence suggests, was the Greco-Roman sarcophagus that came to be known as the *Tomb of Venus* (Fig. 4). This object also currently resides in the main square of Famagusta, though repositioned to an area behind the triple arch gateway of the *Palazzo del Proveditore*. Additional Venetian-era uses of *spolia* include a long marble frieze of running animals in a vine motif, also very likely from Salamis, which was set up as a bench or *panca* along the south side of the cathedral square, abutting the cathedral façade (Fig. 5). Another part of this *panca* was constructed of classical capitals and entablatures (Fig. 6), and seems to have been an expression of civic patronage by the Venetian Bembo family. The structure that the *panca* runs along, much modified if not constructed by the Venetians, is referred to as the *Loggia Bembo* since coats of arms of that noble family decorate it. [11]

The *Tomb of Venus*, like the columns, is probably also an example of Salamenian *spolia*.[12] Venetian humanists and poets made much of the homophony between "Venezia" and "Venus", who was yet another of the sacred benefactors of the city. Thus Cyprus, Venus's birthplace, could be framed as a gift of the goddess to Venice, her poetic namesake (Italian: Venezia/Venere), providing divine predestination for Venetian rule on the island. There are other possibilities for creative confluence between Venice and Salamis, as Salamis (and by extension, Famagusta) could be constructed as a sister city to Venice as both cites shared Trojan foundation myths, extending their pedigrees back into the Heroic Age.

The two free-standing granite columns, also from Salamis—though with Doric style capitals and bases added by the Venetians to complete the ensemble and make it more monumental—are consistent with the double columns erected in town squares throughout the Venetian realm, from the *terrafirma* to Dalmatia, the Peloponnese and beyond. The model for these many clones was the massive pair of columns on the Bacino waterfront of Venice, which functioned partly as a monumental gateway into the city (Fig. 7). Atop one of them is the bronze lion representing St Mark, the patron

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11 See the discussion in Vincenzo Lucchese, "Famagusta from a Latin Perspective: Venetian Heraldic Shields and other Fragmentary Remains", in *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta: Studies in Architecture, Art, and History*, ed. M. J. K. Walsh, P. W. Edbury, & N. S. H. Coureas (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2012), 170–175. Camille Enlart, in his monumental late nineteenth century study of the medieval and renaissance architecture of Cyprus, believed that the structure was medieval and hypothesized, not very convincingly, that the building was the cathedral grammar school.

12 It is of course possible that the sarcophagus may have come from another Greco-Roman city, such as Kition, Kourion or Paphos. The sarcophagus is strikingly similar to one found at the Bellapais Abbey on Cyprus's northern coast near Kyrenia.

saint of Venice, and on the other a statue of St Theodore, who had been an earlier civic patron. Even these columns and the statues that decorate them are *spolia*, probably originating from Venice's sack of Constantinople in 1204.

Doric was a style that Venetian architects used increasingly in the late fifteenth century and through the sixteenth century as their dominion over Greek lands and archipelagos expanded. Jacopo Sansovino used many Doric elements in his architecture and the style thus began to define the Venetian built environment in an age of imperial expansionism. The Famagusta Roman columns from Salamis, then, with the Greek-style Doric additions, signified Venetian rule not only over this distant extremity of the ancient Greek world, Famagusta, but also its inheritance of the authority of the earlier civilization that had also controlled the eastern Mediterranean. One assumes, though there is no direct evidence, that the lion of St Mark and a statue of St Theodore also sat atop the Famagusta pair of columns. While the *Tomb of Venus* sarcophagus intimated the blessing of the pagan goddess Venus, the ubiquitous lion of St Mark indicated that Venetians, even at the furthest edge of their empire, were under the evangelist's protection. Indeed, the first thing one saw when sailing into Famagusta's harbour was the Sea Gate entrance with this universal emblem of Venetian dominion and saintly benefice.

The deployment of *spolia* fragments, both sculptural and architectural, in Famagusta's main square echo similar components in Venice, where *spolia* from Venice's sack of Constantinople in 1204 provided material for a public exposition of Venetian imperial rhetoric. However, in Venice the iconographic program, far more sophisticated than at Famagusta, can be interpreted more specifically as strongly relating to the theme of Justice as a component of Venetian civic mythology. Robert Nelson has shown that corporal punishment was a significant ingredient of the equation of "Justice" with "Venice". The Venetian twin columns at the Bacino waterfront, for example, were nicknamed the *Columns of Justice* because criminals were put to death between them, both by hanging and decapitation.[13] Similarly, the so-called *Pillars of Acre* or *Pilastri Acretani* in the nearby Piazzetta (Fig. 8) were known also as the *Doge's Gallows*, for here offending doges suffered corporal castigation.[14] Indeed, the small area of the Piazzetta immediately outside the *Porta della Carta* seems to have been assembled to convey the concept of Justice and the threat of punishment, which also fused with the same theme articulated in the Foscari wing of the *Palazzo Ducale* and the *Porta della Carta* itself. For example, on the façade of the Foscari wing of the *Palazzo Ducale*, on the upper story, is a roundel depicting an allegorical figure of Justice seated on a lion throne (Fig. 9). Under her feet are personifications of Anger and Pride vanquished. She holds in one hand a scroll that reads: "Just and Strong, I am enthroned, I vanquish by the sea and furies", while in the other she holds a sword, the weapon with which punishment will

13 Nelson, "High Justice: Venice, San Marco, and the Spoils of 1204", 147.
14 Ibid., 148.

be meted out. A sword also once appeared in the relief of the *Judgment of Solomon* (Fig. 10), on the corner of the *Palazzo Ducale* overlooking the *Pillars of Acre*. Here, too, the theme of institutional justice and its wisdom is articulated. Solomon seems to oversee not only the soldier who raised his sword to cut the child in half, but also the decapitations or other punishments that took place between the *Pillars of Acre* just below. The theme of Justice and judgment is carried through in a statue on the southwest corner of the Foscari wing, where the archangel Gabriel carries the trumpet he shall blow for the Last Judgment day. Divine and secular judgment and punishment are thus brought together in iconographic collusion. A statue of Justice appears, too, at the apex of the *Porta della Carta*, the gothic web that conjoins the church of *San Marco* with the *Palazzo Ducale*, making the connection between Church and State, and the Doge and the Evangelist, concrete. Thus the theme of Justice is expanded whereby the Doge, as supported by St Mark, metes out punishment, with the wisdom of his decisions divinely inspired and sanctioned.

There are other significant artifacts on the corner of San Marco that faces the Piazzetta, such as the porphyry statue once thought to depict the Tetrarchs (Fig. 11; identified as the Sons of Constantine by Verzone).[15] Here again sword iconography is found, as all four figures hold swords, thus indicating their willingness to use them to defend their common interests. Even these figures, which have been variously read in the scholarship, were associated in the popular mind with a story of four men who killed each other, each one greedy to keep a treasure that they had collectively discovered.[16] They received their just reward for criminal behavior: death. Along the wall of which they are a part, a frieze runs below, forming a low bench or *panca* of *spolia* fragments (Fig. 12). On part of it, on the left just below the statue of the "Tetrarchs"/ Sons of Constantine, two *putti*-like figures hold aloft a banner which reads, in essence, "Think twice before you do anything contrary", that is, against the law.[17] Beside the *Pillars of Acre* is the *Pietra del Bando*, the stump of a porphyry column drum, which was used to display the heads of decapitated criminals.[18] If the point of the ensemble was not made clear enough, the *Carmagnola* head, ensconced in an upper corner of San Marco above the *Pietra del Bando* (Fig. 13), was popularly thought to represent Francesco Bussare, a mercenary soldier who had betrayed Venice and had been decapitated at this very spot, a lapidary reminder of the long-ago decayed head that was once displayed here.[19] The actual heads of decapitated Ottomans were displayed here as well, after the Battle of Lepanto, and it was also here where death sentences and other edicts were read

15 P. Verzone, "I due gruppi in porfido di S. Marco in Venezia ed il Philadelphion di Constantinopoli", *Palladio* 8 (1958): 8; cited in Nelson, "High Justice", 148–149.

16 Nelson, "High Justice", 151.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid., 150.

19 Ibid., 151.

from the platform of the *Gobbo di Rialto*, right beside the *Pietra del Bando*. The preponderance of sword imagery, the allusions to both divine and secular justice and punishment (appropriate for a space that conjoins the secular power of the doge and Senate—the *Palazzo Ducale*—with the Doge's church, San Marco), the public proclamation of sentences, and the actual instances of capital punishment—all of these allusions to Justice append to the judicial function of many of the rooms in the Ducal Palace itself, especially the Foscari wing, where the activities that took place in the rooms inside were mirrored and justified by the iconographies on the most public façade of the structure.

One can find consistencies with these themes in other Venetian colonial towns. For example, in Korčula, in modern Croatia, the truncated pillar in the main square, while it may have supported some sculpture on top, may also have been a pillory (Fig. 14). It was set up by Doge Leonardo Loredan and bears his coat of arms. If this monument did have a role to play in punishment, it, too, is an eloquent public marker of Venetian civil violence and a reminder to both us, and to sixteenth century Korčulans, of Venetian dominance and enforcement. So, too, at Cattaro (Kotor, Montenegro), where the pillory was the first thing people saw when entering the city through the Sea Gate. One can easily imagine the message to any visitor, greeted by a penalized body chained to this monument to Venetian hegemony and indicator of the empire's intolerance of disobedience or treachery.

The preponderance of *spolia* fragments that convey the concepts of justice and punishment in Venice encourages us to reconsider the twin columns in Famagusta. If we place them back to what was their original location in front of St Nicholas, they would have been the first thing that confronted someone entering the cathedral square through the south archway of the *Loggia Bembo* or, alternatively, from the main road coming into the square from Famagusta's Sea Gate. Could these columns have marked a place for punishment? We might do well to reconsider the happier humanist reading of the *Tomb of Venus* that sat between the pillars. Could the tomb itself have retained signification as a place of punishment or execution? There are no records of such, but I've always been intrigued by these notches cut from the tomb on the short sides (Fig. 14) and I wonder whether the Venetians undertook the alterations for some retributive function of this redeployed piece of *spolia*. Given the function of the twin columns in Venice, it seems reasonable to infer that the columns at Famagusta may also have marked a site of civic retribution. While we may talk of Salamis and of Venice's inheritance of the authority of ancient empires and of their use of the aura-filled fragments of the physical remains of those empires, we might also consider that, in the case of Famagusta, the pillars may well have had punishment and domination as their primary meaning. And if the pillars here were also, as in Venice, "Pillars of Justice", then it might also be significant that, unlike Cattaro, where anybody entering the city would have been confronted with a monument to punishment, here in Famagusta the arched entryway of the *Loggia Bembo* faces the Greek quarter of the city and the metropolitan church of St

George of the Greeks, merely 100 meters away. Thus the reminder of Venetian corporal punishment might well have been particularly dramatized for the indigenous population of Greeks, especially those who were antagonistic to Venetian rule.

We might also, in this light, reconsider the *panca* or bench along the flank of the *Loggia Bembo* that afforded a perfect view of the columns in Famagusta in their original Venetian-era position. Punishment was a public event in Venice, and any such retribution would have been witnessed by the authorities. As Edward Muir and others have shown, Venice defined itself by public display and procession perhaps more than any other early modern city.[20] The *spolia* bench in Famagusta—clearly in an honorific position, like the *spolia* bench in Venice that extends from the *Porta della Carta*—was evidently not merely a convenient place for weary pedestrians to sit, but also provided a seating area for officials to witness the carrying out of sentences. The Venetian *panca*'s crucial place in the processional occasions of the city are well illustrated by Gentile Bellini's famous late fifteenth-century painting of a procession in the *Piazza San Marco*. In it the *Pietra del Bando* and *Pilastri Acretani* are both visible as Venetian senators walk in procession from the *Porta della Carta*. In the case of the *spolia*-laden *panca* in Venice, we see that it is proximate to these monuments and the main sites of public punishment. Certainly these seating arrangements would have also been used during happier ritual occasions such as festivals and celebrations, but the idea of punishment would never have been very far from the public's sense of the place, the site of the most severe expression of Venetian rule. Both the *spolia* benches in Venice and in Famagusta, then, were related to public punishment and afforded officials a place to witness the carrying out of sentences.

Famagusta's cathedral square was thus a distant but resonant echo of the Piazzetta in Venice. In both places the signifying operations of the built environment, incorporating antique sculpture and *spolia*, articulated manifold themes of conquest, predestination, and the inheritance of the authority of past civilizations and ancient empires. Part of the exercise of this authority was the continual reminding of the citizenry—both colonizer and colonized—of the determination of the state to mete out public corporeal and capital punishment.

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[20] Edward W. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

HARMONIZING THE SOURCES: AN INSIGHT INTO THE APPEARANCE OF THE HAGIOS GEORGIOS COMPLEX AT VARIOUS STAGES OF ITS BUILDING HISTORY[1]

Thomas Kaffenberger

Legend says that in medieval Famagusta there once were as many churches as days in a year. Even though this statement has to be treated as a *topos* rather than a realistic report, some 30 churches are still preserved or traceable inside the city walls today (Fig.1).[2] Amongst them, the ruined complex of the Orthodox churches of Hagios Georgios and Hagios Epiphanios figures most prominently (Fig. 2, Fig. 3).

Consisting of a much altered, multi-staged older part, Hagios Epiphanios/ Hagios Symeon,[3] and the ruin of the monumental new cathedral of the fourteenth century, Hagios Georgios, the complex in its intricacy must be treated with an extremely high degree of scholarship. Even though the investigation of the monument had already started in the late nineteenth century,[4] no comprehensive monographic study has yet been published. Camille Enlart and George Jeffery, investigating the building in around 1900, were not able to record its details fully, as it was still covered with debris from the collapsed vaults.[5] Theophilus Mogabgab's excavation work in the 1930s cleared the

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1 This article is a revised and shortened version of chapters 6 and 7 of my unpublished Magister thesis, "Hagios Georgios in Famagusta — Ein Beispiel des Kulturtransfers. Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen" (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz, 2010).

2 On the sacral topography of Famagusta see most comprehensively C. Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, trans. David Hunt, trans. of *L'Art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre* (Paris, 1899) (London : Trigraph, 1987), 246–303; C. Otten-Froux, "Notes sur quelques monuments de Famagouste a la fin du Moyen-Age", in *Mosaic: Festschrift for A.H.S. Megaw*, ed. J. Herrin, M. Mullett and C. Otten-Froux (London : British School at Athens, 2001), 145–54; J. Andrews, "Gothic and Byzantine in the Monumental Arts of Famagusta: Diversity, Permeability and Power", in *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta. Studies in Architecture, Art and History*, ed. M. Walsh, P. Edbury and N. Coureas (Farnham: Ashgate 2012), 147–66.

3 The question of the name of the older church will be addressed below.

4 E. L'Anson and S. Vacher, "Mediaeval and other Buildings in the Island of Cyprus", *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (May 1883), 13–32.

5 C. Enlart, *L'Art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre* (Paris : E. Leroux, 1899); C. Enlart, "Fouilles dans les églises de Famagouste", *Archaeological Journal* 62 (1905): 195–217; G. Jeffery, "The Orthodox Cathedral of Famagusta, Cyprus", *The Builder* 87 (1904): 31–34; G. Jeffery, "Notes on Cyprus, 1905", *Journal of the Royal*

site, but the short notes which he published subsequently give only a vague idea of the results.[6] Other than Athanasios Papageorghiou's work,[7] no further study of the architecture had been carried out until the recent publications of Thierry Soulard, Michalis Olympios and Tassos Papacostas.[8]

This article hopes to contribute to the research on this issue by attempting to answer one of the most basic questions posed by the ruinous churches: How did the churches look at various times in history? A careful re-examination of old as well as new evidence can take us some way to answering this question, mainly by addressing aspects of typology, structure and style.

As with so many areas of research connected with medieval Cyprus, the textual and pictorial legacy seems to be scarce at first glance, whereas the material remains are as overwhelming as they are puzzling. Thus a full study needs to include both an in-

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Institute of British Architects 8 (1906), 481–93; G. Jeffery, "The Byzantine Churches of Cyprus", *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 28 (1916), 111–34; G. Jeffery, *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus* (Cyprus: Archer, 1918).

6 On Mogabgab and his work in Famagusta see E. Uluca Tümer, "Twentieth-century Restorations to the Medieval and Renaissance Monuments of Famagusta", in *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta: Studies in Architecture, Art and History,* ed. M. Walsh, P. Edbury and N. Coureas (Farnham: Ashgate 2012), 217–34. Even though Mogabgab never wrote up the results of his research, the ground plan of the complex, which was drawn by him and published several times, e.g., in G. Soteriou, *Ta Byzantina Mnemeia tes Kyprou* (Athens: Grafeion Demosieumaton Akademias Athenon, 1935), 55, gives a rather precise indication of the chronology developed by Mogabgab after his researches. The six short reports were all published in the Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus [henceforth RDAC]: see J. R. Hilton, "Repairs to ancient monuments", *RDAC 1935* (1936), 1–5; T. Mogabgab, "Excavations in Famagusta", in *RDAC 1935* (1936), 20–22; A. H. S. Megaw, "Repairs to ancient monuments", in *RDAC 1936/II* (1939), 97–100; T. Mogabgab, "Excavations and Improvements in Famagusta", in *RDAC 1936/II* (1939), S. 103–105; A. H. S. Megaw, "Repairs to ancient monuments 1937–1939", in *RDAC 1937/ 1939* (1951), 171–80; T. Mogabgab, "Excavations and researches in Famagusta 1937–1939", in *RDAC 1937/ 1939* (1951), S. 181–90.

7 See especially A. Papageorghiou, "L'Art Byzantin de Chypre et l'Art des Croisées", in *RDAC* (1982), 217–26 and A. Papageorghiou, "Crusader Influence on the Byzantine Art of Cyprus", in *Cyprus and the Crusades*, ed. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith (Nicosia : Cyprus Research Centre, 1995), 275–94.

8 P. Plagnieux and T. Soulard, "L'Architecture Religieuse", in *L´Art Gothique En Chypre*, ed. J.-B. De Vaivre and P. Plagnieux (Paris : Boccard, 2006), 121–296 ; T. Soulard: "L´architecture gothique grecque du royaume des Lusignan: les cathédrales de Famagouste et Nicosie", in *Identités croisées en un milieu méditerranéen: Le cas de Chypre,* ed. S. Fourrier and G. Grivaud (Mont-Saint-Aignan : Publications des Universités de Rouen et du Havre, 2006), 356–84; T. Soulard, "La diffusion de l'architecture gothique à Chypre", *Cahier du Centre d´Études Chypriotes* 36 (2006): 73–124; T. Papacostas, "Byzantine rite in a Gothic setting: aspects of cultural appropriation in late medieval Cyprus", in *Towards Rewriting? New Approaches to Byzantine Archaeology and Art*, ed. P. Grotowski and S. Skrzyniarz, Series Byzantina 8 (Warsaw: Sowa 2010), 117–32; M. Olympios, "Saint George of the Greeks and its Legacy: A Facet of Urban Greek Church Architecture in Lusignan Cyprus", in *Medieval Famagusta*, ed. C. Schabel and A. Weyl-Carr (forthcoming); M. Olympios, "The Shifting Mantle of Jerusalem: Ecclesiastical Architecture in Lusignan Famagusta", ibid.; T. Papacostas, "Byzantine Famagusta: An Oxymoron?", ibid.; T. Papacostas, "A Gothic Basilica in the Renaissance: Saint George of the Greeks at Famagusta", ibid. I am thankful to Michalis Olympios and Tassos Papacostas for discussing their results with me and generously sharing the drafts of their articles before publication.

depth analysis of the building itself and the various sources, because only by matching the material evidence to the "secondhand" reality of the sources can the results become reliable and lasting.

The Dedication of the Churches in the Orthodox Episcopal Complex

Before turning to the question of the chronology of the building, we must discuss briefly the dedication of both churches. While the dedication of Hagios Georgios is clearly proved by the sixteenth-century view of Famagusta by Gibellino (No. 2 "S. Giorgio domo dei Greci", Fig. 4)[9], there is no source indicating the original patronage of the smaller church. The numerous suggestions made by scholars in the past 120 years include Saint Luke, Archangel Michael, Saint George, Saint Symeon and Saint Epiphanios.[10] The name currently used, Hagios Symeon, probably goes back to the time of Theophilus Mogabgab, as the church is first mentioned under this name in the 1930s reports issued by the Department of Antiquities.[11] Thus, to treat this conventional name as proof that the church was dedicated to Hagios Symeon hardly seems warrented. The only known connection of this patronage to the Orthodox cathedral is in a report of 1572, where it is stated that after the Ottoman conquest, the Orthodox community was allowed to keep not only the cathedral but also the small church of Hagios Symeon.[12] It would have been unlikely to be recorded this way if Hagios Symeon had not been a distinct church separated from the cathedral, as opposed to an annexed chapel.[13] A more likely option is that this church was dedicated to Hagios Epiphanios.

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9 The etching shows the Ottoman conquest of the city in 1571. Even though Camille Enlart had already identified the church with the help of Gibellino's etching, numerous wrong denominations can be found throughout the first half of the twentieth century, especially on historic plans and postcards. The reason for this may lie in the power of a falsified oral tradition. For a recent discussion of Gibellino's etching see C. Otten-Froux, "La ville de Famagouste", in *L'Art Gothique En Chypre*, ed. J.-B. De Vaivre and P. Plagnieux (Paris : Boccard, 2006), 109–20.

10 For a comprehensive discussion of the stage of research see Papacostas, "Byzantine Famagusta", who leaves the issue unresolved. Olympios, "Greek Church Architecture", uses the dedication of Saint George.

11 Mogabgab, "Excavations 1935", 21.

12 Angelo Calepio, 1572: "They were allowed to live as Christians, provided only that there should be no one of the Latin Church. To these the Turk would grant neither church, house nor any privilege. The Latins in Famagosta were thus compelled to dissemble their faith and rites. The Greeks on their side hoped to keep all their Greek churches, but none was granted them except the Greek Cathedral, and when they offered handsome presents they got as well the little church of S. Simeon." (trans. C. D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus* (Cambridge: University Press 1908), 160). A church of Saint Symeon is already attested as a *metochion* of the Sinai monastery in Famagusta in the early fourteenth century. See Papacostas, "Byzantine Famagusta".

13 Admittedly, nothing is said about the physical relationship of the two buildings in the text. Yet it is exactly this lack of a description of their relationship to each other which suggests that the text is talking about two separate buildings.

We know that the remains of this bishop-saint seem to have been kept in Hagios Georgios in the early sixteenth century, as noted by the pilgrim Ludwig Tschudi, who visited Famagusta in 1519.[14] Certainly, a tombstone thought to belong to Epiphanios was venerated here in later times, something we know from the short description of the marble monument by the pilgrim Christoph Fürer von Haimendorf in 1566.[15] The hypothesis of Epiphanios' patronage is not only supported by the material evidence—the relic-like inclusion of parts of the older church in the new building—but also by two notarial deeds from the late fourteenth century.

In 1363 Iohannes de Mothonio wished to be buried in a church of Hagios Symeon, yet the sums of money bequeathed were very small (a mere 100 silver coins) and only sufficed to benefit his relatives and the Latin cathedral.[16] This might attest a subordinate role for the Hagios Symeon church in the sacred topography of Famagusta. On the other hand, the exceedingly wealthy merchant Fetus Semitecolo, who died in the same year, expressed a wish to be buried in a church of Hagios Epiphanios—the first ever mention of a church of this name in Famagusta.[17] Semitecolo not only bequeathed the large sum of 1000 silver coins to the "cathedral of Saint George" but also laid down that ten Orthodox clerics be paid for assuring the salvation of his soul.[18] It seems plausible that the donation to the cathedral was also intended as a payment for a burial place in or close to the attached chapel—which would then be the church of Hagios Epiphanios.[19]

Nonetheless, as Papacostas has revealed, the relics of the saint was still venerated in its shrine in Salamis/ Constantia as late as the middle of the fourteenth century,

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14 For a detailed approach to Tschudis' account see Papacostas, "Byzantine Famagusta".

15 Fürer von Haimendorf states that in "the Greek church of S. George [...] you see the marble monument of Epiphanius, with a Greek inscription so wasted by age that it cannot be read in its entirety" (trans. Cobham, *Excerpta*, 78).

16 "Il choisit d'être enterré à l'église Saint-Siméon de Famagouste. Il lègue à l'église Saint-Nicolas de Famagouste 10 besants blancs; de même il lègue pour l'éclairage de la loge de la commune des Vénitiens à Famagouste 3 besants blancs. Il lègue à son fils Manulis 100 besants blancs, s'il veut rester dans sa maison [...]" (trans. C. Otten-Froux, "Un notaire vénetien à Famagouste au XIVe siècle. Les actes de Simeone, prêtre de San Giacomo dell'Orio (1362–1371)", *Thesaurismata* 33 (2003): 15–159, here 39-40).

17 Papacostas, "Byzantine Famagusta".

18 "Il choisit d'être enterré dans l'église Saint-Epiphanios de Famagouste. Il lègue à son épouse dame Maria 7.000 besants blancs en deniers (in denariis). [...]Il lègue à dame Maria 3.000 besants de ses biens qu'elle devra distribuer aux pauvres chrétiens pour son âme. [...]Il lègue à dame Maria son épouse sa maison où il habite à présent pour qu'elle y reste; et si elle ne veut pas, elle pourra la louer à qui bon lui semblera, étant entendu que, du prix de la location, elle est tenue de payer deux prêtres qui célèbreront la messe dans l'église Saint-Epiphanios pour l'âme du testateur. [...]Il lègue 1.000 besants blancs pour le secours de l'église épiscopale de Saint-Georges des Grecs. [...]Il dispose que 10 membres du clergé grec soient achetés sur ses biens et affranchis pour le salut de son âme. [...]" (transl. Otten-Froux, "Simeone", 45-46).

19 On the relevance of these testaments see also Plagnieux and Soulard, "Architecture Réligieuse", 286-88; Soulard, "Cathédrales", 358 and Papacostas, "Byzantine Famagusta".

long after the erection of the church.[20] This leaves us wondering whether the patronage of the chapel perhaps predated a later transfer of the relics, or if a secondary relic had been brought to Famagusta for the creation of a second place of veneration. These purely hypothetical suggestions show that no certainty has yet been reached on the question of the patronage of the older church. Nevertheless, the arguments in favour of a dedication to Hagios Epiphanios seem to outweigh alternative proposals to date.

As there are no further sources that shed light on the first centuries of the church of Hagios Epiphanios, the method of *Bauforschung*, which uses the material evidence as its strongest argument, needs to be applied to identify the building phases and original appearance.

Hagios Epiphanios: A Chronology

Hagios Epiphanios has attracted only scant attention among scholars, even those studying the adjacent fourteenth-century structure.[21] Nevertheless, as its status as the oldest surviving sacral building in Famagusta is generally accepted, the importance of a better appreciation of the structure becomes clear. The church as we see it today has two naves of four bays each, both terminating in apses (Fig. 3, 5). Adjoining the northern nave are two side rooms and a transept, whose northern wall forms part of the later southern wall of Hagios Georgios. The interior structure is difficult to determine today because the greater part of the vault as well as two of the internal piers are missing, while the remaining walls and piers show several different types of masonry. While the state of decay impedes to some extent a precise investigation of the original appearance, the absence of plaster facilitates the identification of the phases of the surviving masonry.

The Cross-In-Square Church

The plan of the building clearly indicates that the northern aisle of Hagios Epiphanios originally formed a part of a cross-in-square church, which was subsequently enlarged. Yet the different types of masonry visible within this section of the building reveal the asynchrony of its components, which suggest a further differentiation of the various phases of building.[22]

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20 Papacostas, "Byzantine Famagusta".

21 See for example Plagnieux and Soulard, "Architecture Réligieuse", 295, where the church is only referred to as "petite église accolée" or "église byzantine voisine". Theophilus Mogabgab was one of the first to grasp the complexity of the subsequent changes to the building. (See Soteriou, *Byzantina Mnemeia,* 55). The only comprehensive study of this important building will be found in Olympios, "Greek Church Architecture", where there is also a review of the older scholarship.

22 To be sure, the troubled history of the building engenders a degree of uncertainty over the distinction between deliberate changes, rebuilding or patching, which cannot be resolved with certitude.

(1) The oldest parts of masonry can be found in the northern transept wall (Fig. 6). The left side of the lower courses shows layers of large ashlars alternating with layers of small ashlars, which are combined with rubble in the joints. A similar technique can be seen in the lower parts of the eastern piers of the crossing. The right half of the northern transept wall is assembled from uncut ashlars and rubble which have not been laid out in layers.

Even if we assume that this wall formed part of an even older structure than the one associated with the large ashlars, the scant evidence would not allow a precise reconstruction of the typology of this hypothetical first church.[23] The first more tangible church, however, might have already been a cross-in-square church. Yet the other possibility, a basilica of small dimensions, can only be negated by the small archway to the east of the transept which can be attested only for the next phase of construction. It has proved almost impossible to provide a firm dating for this phase, but the large ashlars indicate a relatively early date, around the turn of the first millennium.[24]

(2) The next phase includes the upper parts of the northern transept wall and the lower parts of the bay to the west of the transept as well as the aforementioned archway. It is marked by uneven ashlars, which form continuous layers. They are quite regular in size but have broad joints filled with rubble and mortar. These walls no doubt formed part of a cross-in-square building, since the small archway between the transept and the north-eastern side compartment was constructed during this phase at the latest, even if it seems to have been enlarged at a later stage. The large archway between the nave and the northern aisle of the western cross-arm might have had a predecessor in the same place, but its well-cut keystones—forming a pointed arch—and its rather clumsy alignment with the courses of the surrounding wall indicate it to be a later replacement.[25]

The outer appearance of the church at this stage may have resembled the Church of the Archangelos at Phrenaros, which shows similar proportions and a similar type of masonry, even if it is a dome-hall instead of a cross-in-square building (Fig. 7). It is hard to define the absolute dating of these first two phases: The churches of Hagios Antonios in Kellia and Hagios Prokopios in Syngrasi attest that cross-in-square churches were already being built as early as the late tenth century which thus represents

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23 Olympios, "Greek Church Architecture".

24 This theory could be supported by the archaic horseshoe shape of the tiny apse in the northern compartment—if we assume that this apse is part of the initial structure or at least the initial plan.

25 The method of an *en-sous-oeuvre* replacement of arches is a common technique in medieval Cyprus—see below.

a *terminus post quem* for the earliest stages of the Epiphanios Church.[26] The second phase may be contemporaneous with the church at Phrenaros, which has been dated to approximately 1100.[27]

(3) In the current western wall of the northern nave, we find remains of an older wall incorporated into the later structure, carrying a partly filled up barrel vault with the fragmentary remains of a pendentive on its eastern edge (Fig. 8). South of this, the wall-pier facing east and separating the two naves certainly also belonged to the same structure. This is indicated by the springer of an arch on the right side of the wall-pier, now incorporated into later walls. Wall, vault, pendentive and pier can be interpreted as parts of a former narthex consisting of three bays (Fig. 9). The northern and southern bays were barrel-vaulted, while the central bay was surmounted by a dome, whose north-eastern pendentive is still visible. While the middle bay had recesses reaching up to the vaulting, the walls of the side bays were structured by lower blind arches.[28]

Once again the church in Phrenaros can give us a good impression of how the narthex of Hagios Epiphanios might have once appeared—a distinctly separate building structure in the shape of a dome-hall church rotated by ninety degrees (Fig. 7). Due to the almost complete destruction of the church between the first and second bays of the northern nave, it cannot be proven that the narthex was added later. Yet as that was the case for all known Cypriot examples, we can at least assume this.[29] The domed type of narthex with three bays is relatively widespread and the earliest example is perhaps Hagios Nikolaos tis Stegis in Kakopetria, where the paintings inside the narthex go back to the first decades of the twelfth century. Most other examples can be dated approximately to the mid twelfth century (Lambousa, Phrenaros), which is as precise as we can be about the narthex of Hagios Epiphanios.

(4) It is apparent that the Epiphanios church was partly destroyed at some point and rebuilt afterwards, because the walls of the bema and the apse, as well as the upper parts of the piers and the higher courses of the eastern transept wall,

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26 For the dating of Kellia see T. Papacostas, *Byzantine Cyprus. The Testimony of its Churches 650–1200*, 3 vols., Ph.D.Diss.(Oxford 1999), II, 8; for Syngrasi Papacostas, *Byzantine Cyprus*, II, 170–72.

27 Papacostas, *Byzantine Cyprus*, II, 16.

28 It is possible that these lower recesses were added or changed in a later phase, as they cut through the horizontal impost of the barrel vault.

29 On the typology and dating of Cypriot narthices see A. Papageorghiou, "The Narthex of the Churches of the Middle Byzantine Period in Cyprus", in *Rayonnement Grec. Hommages à Charles Delvoye*, ed. L. Hadermann-Misguich and G. Raepsaet (Bruxelles: Ed. de l'Université de Bruxelles 1982), 437–48. For further references see also Olympios, "Greek Church Architecture".

> consist mainly of regular, well-cut ashlars of a quality very different to the previous types of masonry (Fig. 5). In all likelihood the rebuilding followed the original plan and used all the older foundations, as the lower parts of the surviving walls and piers were also reused at that time. Nevertheless in these sections minor changes—such as the renewal of the arch in the nave—may have taken place. The barrel vaults of the bema and the transept were also re-erected in that phase as certain springers of the arches that once supported the dome show the same technique. Nevertheless both remaining vaults (and, in consequence, also the now destroyed dome) seem to have been patched up or completely rebuilt a second time, although showing inferior technique and using mostly irregular stone material mixed with few well-cut ashlars.[30]

In that context, reported earthquakes may help to specify the date: the destruction of the upper eastern parts and the vault are typical damage patterns caused by earthquakes.[31] Olympios suggests the destruction of the church was due to the strong earthquake of 1491, as the masonry is "executed in a far more summary and untidy manner than the carefully assembled ashlar of the church's last rebuilding".[32]

While this observation, which refers exclusively to the second rebuilding, is certainly correct and the dating seems likely, it says little about the first rebuilding of the cross-in-square church. The structure of this first phase of rebuilding in its increased accuracy regarding construction methods already suggests an influence of "Latin" building techniques and surely postdates 1200. Olympios attributes this phase to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, assuming that it was in this phase that groin vaults in the western and (hypothetically) eastern cross arms were included. This would correspond to the arrival of the first wave of, among others, Orthodox refugees migrating from the lost Latin dominions in the East after 1291—who at that time would have brought new concepts of building hitherto alien to the local traditions.[33] Yet the masonry of the clerestory wall in the western cross arm (certainly part of the groin vault) seems to be better cut than the courses of masonry below the string course,

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30 The bema vault in particular was heavily damaged during the Second World War, when a bomb hit the northern apse of Hagios Epiphanios. The damages were repaired subsequently without any attempt being made to relocate the ashlars to their original position.

31 The weakest points of a cross-in-square church are always the four piers supporting the dome. A common kind of damage can start with the collapse of one pier, which then takes down the dome and parts of the adjoining cross-arm-vault. An example of a structure damaged in this frequently recurring manner is Hagios Georgios Chortakion in Sotira, as published in Soteriou, *Byzantina Mnemeia,* pl. 27.

32 Olympios, "Greek Church Architecture". The impact of the earthquake is reported in several sources, one of which is the detailed account of Dietrich von Schachten, who witnessed the destruction of the cathedral of Nicosia: "...hatt das Erdtbiedenn ein gutt theil zerbrochen..." (Quote from *Excerpta Cypria Nova. Voyageurs Occidenteaux à Chypre au XVème Siècle*, ed. G. Grivaud [Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1990], 134).

33 Olympios, "Greek Church Architecture".

thus opening the possibility of assigning the insertion of the groin vault to a later stage (we will come back to this below). In consequence the first rebuilding may have also repeated the classical type of the original building with barrel vaults. Rebuilding that mimics older shapes is normally a reaction to some type of sudden destruction—such as that caused by an earthquake. One of the strongest recorded earthquakes in the Eastern Mediterranean in the thirteenth century took place in 1222, when it shattered the city of Paphos into ruins.[34] We can thus assume that Hagios Epiphanios too may have suffered grave damage during this earthquake, leading to a rebuilding in the 1220s or 1230s, even if the lack of decorative sculpture makes a precise dating almost impossible.

The Dome-Hall addition

The next large alteration to the church was the addition of a second nave, which replaced the southern part of the cross-in-square structure (Fig. 5, 10). This process is easily visible on the southern bema pier, which is separated into two halves by a vertical joint (Fig. 11). This joint starts exactly on a level corresponding to the existing low archway between the north cross-arm and the north-eastern compartment. This proves the former existence of an identical archway in the southern cross-arm that was taken down with the adjoining wall for the erection of the new aisle.

Even if the added aisle is equally as ruined as the rest of the structure we have quite a clear account of the original appearance, as the vaults only collapsed some time before 1916.[35] Therefore a handful of historic photographs and sketches show the building in a less derelict state. Among those, the drawings of Edmond Duthoit (1860s, Fig. 12) and Edward L'Anson (1882, Fig. 13) as well as the photograph of John P. Foscolo (Fig. 14) provide the most detailed information, especially concerning the appearance of the domes.[36]

The addition had the form of a dome-hall-church, consisting of three bays, the central of which was surmounted by a dome. The dome had a drum which appeared polygonal on the outside and was pierced by profiled windows with triangular lintels.[37] While this is a rare but not unique form for windows, the interior of the drum seems to

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34 J. Antonopoulos, "Data from Investigation on Seismic Sea Waves Events in the Eastern Mediterranean from 1000 to 1500 A.D.", *Annali di Geofisica 30* (1980), 179–98, here 183-84.

35 Jeffery, "Byzantine Churches", 130.

36 For a more detailed evaluation of Duthoit's somewhat inaccurate drawing see Olympios, "Greek Church Architecture". On Duthoit's journeys to Cyprus and his drawings see R.C. Severis and L. Bonato, *Along the Most Beautiful Path in the World: Edmond Duthoit and Cyprus* (Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Group 1999).

37 Enlart's comparison of the dome with the church in Simorre, France can only refer to the unusual triangular shape of the windows, for Hagios Epiphanios was certainly not covered with a ribbed vault. (Enlart, *Gothic Art*, 257)

have been structured by a singular system of thin pilasters.[38] The other two bays of the added aisle were covered by groin vaults, which are marked by small gables rising above the cornice on the outside. The use of groin vaults in the southern aisle was not without problems, as they required high, open arches on the side of the older structure. The solution seems to have been to renew the vault of the western cross arm of the cross-in-square church with the aforementioned groin vault (Fig. 5, left). The barrel vault of the bema, located behind the iconostasis, presumably remained unchanged, so that only a low arch connected the old and the new structure. In this instance a certain separation and compartmentalization of the building was to an extent advantageous—or at least not a problem—while the improved linking of the two naves in the west created a wider, more spacious room, in accordance with the aesthetics of the time.

The groin vaults, together with the use of pointed arches and gothic profiles, the exceptionally well cut ashlar masonry and the block like, cubic exterior indicate that this phase was influenced by stylistic features originating from the crusader states of the Levant. Some notably close similarities can be found in the so called Nestorian Church/ Hagios Georgios Exorinos in Famagusta (Fig. 15), a single nave hall church which was subsequently enlarged by the addition of two aisles. The building was probably constructed around 1290/1300, thus post-dating the settlement of refugees from the lost Latin territories of the Holy Land in Famagusta, although the date of the additional aisles is undetermined.[39]

Both churches are quite plain on the outside and share a row of small gables on the horizontal cornice of the façades, covering the ends of the groin vaults. Furthermore, Hagios Epiphanios possesses a southern portal, now weathered and worn, composed of two archivolts with a hood-mould (Fig. 16). The inner archivolt springs from the doorpost and is formed by a simple run-on profile, while the outer archivolt shows a very specific zig-zag profile, resting on pillow-like, rounded corbels which flank the doorway. A thin run-on profile forms the hood-mould, resting on similar yet smaller corbels. A very similar profile is shown by an archway erected together with the later aisles of Hagios Georgios Exorinos (Fig. 17), and while the inner archivolt is destroyed, the zig-zag profile reveals a dependence on the portal of Hagios Epiphanios. Another similar but less delicately carved portal can be found in the Abbey of Bellapais, connecting the cloister with the refectory. These three portals are of central interest for the dating of Hagios Epiphanios as has been put forward by Michalis Olympios.[40] He sees the

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38 The interior of the dome-hall nave is only conveyed by L'Anson's sketch, which might not be totally accurate. Duthoit's cross section does not give any information on the interior design of the southern dome.

39 The most recent and comprehensive study of the Nestorian church has been accomplished by Michele Bacci, who argues convincingly against Camille Enlart's mid-14th century dating of the initial church. (M. Bacci, "Syrian, Palaiologan, and Gothic Murals in the 'Nestorian' Church of Famagusta", in *Deltion tes Khristainikes Archaiologikis Hetaireias* 27 (2006): 207–20).

40 Olympios, "Greek Church Architecture".

origins of the shape in the portal in Bellapais, which he dates to the late 1340s or the 1350s. The portals of Hagios Epiphanios and Hagios Georgios Exorinos would then belong to ca. 1350 and the 1360/70s. This date, however, is relatively late when taking into account the fact that the new cathedral of Hagios Georgios—certainly planned after the completion of Hagios Epiphanios—was probably also begun in around the 1360s at the very latest. It seems more likely that the portal of Hagios Epiphanios is indeed the oldest from this group, as it was a model for the later arch at Hagios Georgios Exorinos (which is by no means dated with certitude). A small detail that might support this theory is the hood mould of the arch at Hagios Georgios Exorinos, which is decorated with a sharply cut dog tooth—a very common decorative element for portals around the middle of the fourteenth century in Famagusta and also common in the Latin architecture in the crusader states. The portal in Bellapais shows a dog tooth pattern as well, even if it seems surprisingly crude in appearance compared to the examples in Famagusta. The portal of Hagios Epiphanios, on the other hand, does not make use of this pattern of decoration which was nevertheless almost indispensable for the later buildings.[41] Thus we can imagine that the dome-hall addition was erected some time after the arrival of the refugees from the lost territories in the East—perhaps around 1310 or 1320. It would then be one of the first buildings adapting the style of Latin crusader architecture for an Orthodox church in Cyprus.[42]

Integrating the parts: a new façade

The very irregular outer appearance created by the previous additions was corrected and covered in the last building phase (Fig. 10). During this phase the southern nave received an additional bay to the west—clearly separated from the dome-hall addition by a vertical joint—and a new façade (Fig. 18). These additions also incorporated the older narthex, leaving only its dome visible on the outside. The design of the new façade imitated the previous phase closely, making use of well cut ashlars and small gables above the cornice. On the inside, the narthex walls, which might have only possessed small doorways before, were opened up towards the northern nave and the new bay, as shown on Duthoit's plan (Fig. 12). The new bay to the south of the narthex also received a dome that was octagonal and generally resembled the dome of the dome-hall addition closely, although it was pierced by more simple, rectangular windows. After this last addition, the building would have been surmounted by four domes in total.

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41 Especially the cathedral of Hagios Georgios makes excessive use of dog tooth mouldings and other elements deriving from a "crusader style". For additional thoughts on this concept see Olympios, "Greek Church Architecture".

42 In this context one can also speculate about the unusual pilasters in the drum of the dome, which remotely resemble the blind arches in the drum of the 12th-century dome of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

Theophilus Mogabgab considered this phase to be later than Hagios Georgios,[43] but the material evidence contradicts that view. Both western entrances, which were constructed in this last phase, had to be walled up subsequently to reach the level of the small square to the west of the church (Fig. 9). This square again connects the newly erected church of Hagios Georgios, which has a much higher floor level, with the older church. Thus the façade of Hagios Epiphanios, which also breaks off rather clumsily where it meets the wall of Hagios Georgios (Fig. 18, left), was certainly finished before work on the new cathedral began. Judging by the overall similarity to the previous phase, this last addition to Hagios Epiphanios was possibly constructed not later than the 1330s.

Hagios Georgios—the New Cathedral

The erection of the adjacent cathedral of Hagios Georgios began not long after the completion of the older church (Fig.1, 2). The following question arises: what event could have triggered the construction of a church of this immense scale, and where did the necessary funds come from? To answer this it is necessary to examine briefly the historical situation in Famagusta at this time. It is unclear if Hagios Epiphanios already served as the cathedral in earlier times, but the most recent research indicates that no Orthodox bishop resided in Famagusta before the mid-fourteenth century.[44] After the reorganization of the Orthodox clergy by the Latins in the early to mid-thirteenth century the four remaining Orthodox rural episcopal residences Solia, Arsinoe-Polis, Lefkara and Karpasia were subordinated to the four Latin urban dioceses of Nicosia, Paphos, Limassol and Famagusta, initially established in 1196 under Pope Celestine III. It is widely agreed that the plan to erect a new cathedral in Famagusta most probably coincided with the return of the Greek bishop of Karpasia in the urban centre as opposed to the remote area of the Karpas peninsula.[45] No sources report when construction work on the new church began, but substantial donations towards the building of the Orthodox cathedral are documented in the year 1363 in the aforementioned notarial deeds, which sets a *terminus ante quem* for the beginning of the work. It is, however, likely that the work indeed began around a decade earlier, as a consequence of the plague of 1349—an event that may have provided a cause for the wealthy merchants of the city to commend their souls to God by contributing a considerable part

43 This is only shown in the plan published by Soteriou. (Soteriou, *Byzantina Mnemeia*), 55.

44 For a detailed study of the historical circumstances see Papacostas, "Byzantine Famagusta".

45 This return of the Orthodox bishops to the urban centres might have been a consequence of the improvement of the Latin-Orthodox relationship following the "finding of the cross" in Tochni in 1340. See also C. Schabel, "Religion", in *Cyprus. Society and Culture 1191–1374*, eds. A. Nicolaou-Konnari and C. Schabel (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 157–218, here 181 f. For the view that Saint George of the Greeks was built specifically as a Greek cathedral see A. Weyl Carr, "Art", 314-316 in the same volume.

of their wealth to the erection of a magnificent church. This assumption is supported by further historical evidence: in the 1360s, the city was already suffering from a commercial decline, which would have slowly decreased the availability of financial resources necessary to start large scale building projects. Furthermore, the Genoese takeover of Famagusta in 1374 surely would have interrupted, if not stopped the building. Thus, if the work was started already in 1349 or 1350, the church must have been finished after a maximum of around 25 years—a short time considering the size of the project.[46]

The integration of Hagios Epiphanios: remarks on the construction process

Hagios Georgios was erected according to a consistent plan which was probably implemented without major interruptions. Nevertheless a certain amount of information on the process can be discovered by investigating the building fabric in the southeastern part of the structure. Here the northern wall of the transept of the old church was made a part of the southern wall of the new church and thus remained visible from both churches (Fig. 19).

The undertaking of this technically challenging process and the relic-like treatment of the wall in the context of the new church demand an explanation. Was it behind this wall, in the transept of the old church, that Christoph Fürer von Haimendorf saw the tombstone of Epiphanios, of which he gives the aforementioned account in his travel report written in 1564? The fabric of the old church was clearly treated as material testimony for the long tradition of the bishopric, if not specifically for the saint's veneration place, which might have already been established here before the erection of Hagios Georgios.[47] For now this question will have to remain open, as it needs to be studied in a wider context.[48]

In any case, the complicated process of integrating the old wall is visible in several places along the new wall: As a first step, the northern wall of Hagios Epiphanios was pulled down, leaving the transept wall and the adjoining pilasters, and replaced by the southern wall of Hagios Georgios. The vaults and domes of the older church were intended to be preserved as far as possible, but the vaults of the secondary side rooms of the northern nave seem to have been replaced. An additional interference was cre-

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46 Even if the exact construction times for the Latin cathedrals of Famagusta and Nicosia are unknown, their completion surely took more than 50 years (regarding Famagusta, see A. Franke, "St Nicholas in Famagusta: A New Approach to the Dating, Chronology and Sources of Architectural Language", in *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta. Studies in Architecture, Art and History*, eds. M.Walsh, P.Edbury, N. Coureas (Farnham: Ashgate 2012), 75–92) and possibly 100 years (for Nicosia, see Plagnieux and Soulard, "Architecture Réligieuse", 159).

47 As Tassos Papacostas shows, the main relics stayed in all probability in Salamis/ Constantia until after the mid fourteenth century. Papacostas, "Byzantine Famagusta".

48 The question of the relic-like treatment of masonry or buildings will be approached in my forthcoming PhD thesis titled "Tradition and Identity - Hagios Georgios in Famagusta and the Orthodox ecclesiastical architecture under Lusignan, Genoese and Venetian rule in Cyprus (14th–16th Century)".

ated by the position of the access arch between the two churches, which was placed in the central bay of Hagios Georgios, colliding directly with the arch between the old church's narthex and the next bay to the east. This arch was carrying not only the groin vault over the nave to the east but also the dome over the old narthex, which were both intended to be maintained. In consequence, the sophisticated technique of an *en-sous-oeuvre* replacement had to be applied.[49] The top of the new arch that connects the two churches was aligned exactly with the old arch and thus supported the vaults on both sides. To align the walls of narthex and nave, and perhaps also to strengthen the whole structure, the walls and piers received an additional layer of ashlars, which probably ascended only as far as the string course below the vault.[50] In line with the same procedure the northern barrel vault of the old narthex and the western half of the side room to the north of the nave were filled up with rubble and closed off with a shell of ashlars.

The concern which was devoted to the integration of Hagios Epiphanios with the new cathedral is shown by a vertical joint a few centimeters to the east of the façade of the old church, dividing the new wall into a western and an eastern half (Fig. 20). The joint runs up only to the level of the vault of the old church, where a horizontal joint as well as a levelling course of ashlars is visible. This shows that in the beginning only the section of the new wall that had direct contact with the older church was erected up to the vault level. To appreciate the full set of problems caused by the proximity of the new wall to the existing masonry, it is necessary to examine the masonry of the new church: The walls have the enormous width of 1,4 meters and are made of two shells of ashlars, filled with an inner layer of rubble. The ashlars were cut in a slightly trapezoidal shape, so that they could have minimal joints on the visible exterior and the necessary binding mortar towards the inside of the wall. While this sophisticated technique contributes much to the high quality of the new building, it was a disadvantage for the connecting wall. Here the ashlars of the outer shell, facing the older structure, could not be seen from their visible, perfectly cut side but instead only from the "inner" side. Thus the masons were not able to check on the proper alignment of the ashlars until the vault level of Hagios Epiphanios was reached. Even if the deflection of the wall seems to have been minimal, small corrections—shown by the aforementioned joints—were necessary for the further building process.

Only after the successful integration of Hagios Epiphanios into the southern wall was the rest of the building erected—most probably from the east to the west. As

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[49] This technique was used surprisingly often in Cyprus during the later middle ages. See for example the church dedicated to Our Lady (Panagia) in Trikomo, where the north wall of the old dome-hall nave rests on a wide, profiled arch inserted to connect it with the nave added later. See also the church of Hagios Sergios in the homonymous town, where the process was executed in almost identical fashion, but the inserted arch is supported by a reused marble column.

[50] See this reinforcement also marked in the drawing of Duthoit (Fig. 12).

there are neither joints nor changes of sculptural details throughout the new building, it is likely that the process was not interrupted until the completion of the building.

Hagios Georgios before its destruction

As with Hagios Epiphanios, the ruinous state of Hagios Georgios demands an investigation into the probable original appearance. The three-aisled basilica with three apses was erected in a regular and well-cut ashlar masonry, and decorated with many elements derived from the Latin-style churches of the town. The choir and the southern wall are almost completely preserved and give us a precise idea of what the destroyed parts of the nave looked like from the outside.

The side walls were almost completely plain and only pierced by richly profiled, pointed windows with tracery (Fig. 21). The clerestory windows, parts of which are still in place, showed a slightly more simple framing profile and were obscured by a row of flying buttresses, springing from the top of the aisle walls. The tracery of one window was reconstructed by Theophilus Mogabgab (Fig. 19), who in 1936 not only cleared the site but also investigated the cut stones among the debris in the collapsed church.[51] As he never published his results, we cannot be sure what other observations he made and how much of the stone material has been lost since his excavation. This lack of information is partly compensated by the existence of a set of photographs taken by Mogabgab, which are preserved in different archives today. One of the pictures taken during the cleaning of the church shows that Mogabgab had attempted to reassemble the stones—in this case a row of stones belonging to an arch with a zig-zag profile (Fig. 22). Presumably, this arch formed a part of the completely destroyed northern portal, to which a large marble beam with notches on two sides and a marble capital can also be assigned. Even if most of the keystones of the arch have vanished by now, the old picture offers enough evidence for its original appearance. The portal must have generally resembled the northern portal of SS Peter and Paul in Famagusta, but the arch with its zig-zag pattern was an allusion to the southern portal of Hagios Epiphanios, thus underlining the importance of the tradition of the place where the new church was erected.

The western façade was as plain as the side walls but pierced by at least two windows and three portals, which are partly preserved (Fig. 23, 24). While the side portals were constructed as three-fold stepped columned doorways with dog-tooth archivolts and hood moulds, the main entrance was framed by a high Gothic stepped profile and a floral hood-mould. The recent re-examination of the cut stones still left in the church has proven that the tracery of the upper window of the façade differed from the nave windows: following a number of earlier models in the town, it consisted of

51 Mogabgab, "Excavations, 1936", 98.

three lancets and three crowning circles.[52] The tracery of the rose window below cannot be reconstructed with certainty but the scarce remains of the tracery might indicate a design somewhat similar to the eastern window of the refectory in the abbey of Bellapais, or the rose window in the Augustinian Church in Nicosia. Inferring from these examples, the tracery would have been composed of a small circle in the center, surrounded by an uncertain number of curved triangles containing trefoils.

The complete destruction of the upper part of the façade makes any further assessment through the material evidence impossible, yet two pictorial sources may indicate a rather unusual design. Camille Enlart already wondered, while looking at Gibellino's etching of the siege of Famagusta (Fig. 4), if the gable drawn above the church is to be treated as *topos* or provides a record of the real design.[53] As Gibellino's map lacks any realistic details, this idea has been for the most part rejected. Nonetheless, the famous engraving of Cornelis de Bruyn from 1688 (Fig. 25), which will be discussed in detail below, seems to add another clue. To the right of the staircase tower another unidentifiable part rises above the roof level—perhaps indeed indicating the remains of a gable. None of the façades of other large churches in Famagusta can provide a model of how Hagios Georgios might have looked as the differences are too great in many respects. Only the small church called today the "Tanners Mosque" may shed some light on a possible initial design (Fig. 1, left). Even though this idea must be treated as speculation and thus with considerable caution, the raised middle part with a triangular gable (restored by Theophilus Mogabgab) above the façade of this church—which was erected some decades after Hagios Georgios—could be a reflection of the design of Hagios Georgios.

Another church in Famagusta referred to often when considering possible models for the reconstruction of the missing parts of Hagios Georgios is SS Peter and Paul. While the façade of this church is comparable only in certain details, such as the tracery and the moulding of the central window, the interior elevation is almost identical to Hagios Georgios (Fig. 26). Plain round piers with flat capitals separate the aisles; on top of the capitals of the piers lengthy, round triple supports begin and carry the diagonal and the transversal arches of the rib-vaults. This coincides with the remnants of the vaulting in Hagios Georgios (fig. 27) where only the central bay differs, which has caused a long and heated debate over the question of whether it was covered by a cross-vault or a dome.

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52 The same type appears in SS Peter and Paul, the Carmelite church and, according to Olympios, had its local origin in the western window of the Franciscan church. (M. Olympios, "Networks of Contact in the Architecture of the Latin East: The Carmelite Church in Famagusta, Cyprus and the Cathedral of Rhodes", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 162 (2009): 29–66, here 43.

53 Enlart, *Gothic Art*, 256.

Vaulting system: a dome over the Central Bay

This question, whether or not the church possessed a dome, was already of interest to the first scholars dealing with the church. While Edward L'Anson was sure that the square bay "probably had a dome over it"[54], Camille Enlart did not specifically discuss the problem, as he was sure that each bay was covered by a rib vault.[55] In George Jeffery, Theophilus Mogabgab and much later Athanasios Papageorghiou, the theory of a dome found prominent supporters, while more recent scholarship in particular, and above all Thierry Soulard, argued against the existence of a dome.[56] The most recent approach by Tassos Papacostas, however, tries to reconcile both sides of the question by arguing for a later insertion of the dome.[57]

In short, the arguments brought up by the supporters of a rib vault were that a dome would typologically require a transept underneath (which is certainly not the case in Hagios Georgios), that placing a dome on a structure that high would be statically impossible, or that a dome would not be in harmony with the overall Gothic style. Yet the arguments in favour of a dome have always seemed to outweigh these objections at the very least. Not only is the central bay decisively larger than the other bays of the nave, thus forming the square plan required for the construction of a dome, but we also have sources and newly discovered material evidence proving the existence of a dome, something hitherto only assumed.

Surely, the most important source is once again the seventeenth-century etching of Cornelis de Bruyn (Fig. 25), which clearly shows the church domed.[58] Thierry Soulard's recent assumption that the etching is not reliable[59] can be rejected for two reasons: Firstly, the text written by De Bruyn, in addition to the etching, refers specifically to the dome:

"De andere Kerk staat daar benevens, aan de slinker zyde, en pronkt op het midden met een Koepel, die boven rond is. Hier ziet men noch verscheyde gaaten van

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54 L'Anson and Vacher, "Medieval Buildings", 24. Surprisingly the dome is not shown in the enclosed plan.

55 Enlart, *Gothic Art*, 256. Enlart also overlooks the fact that the central bay is wider than the others and square instead of rectangular.

56 Jeffery, "Orthodox Cathedral", 32; Jeffery, "Byzantine Churches", 130 (as in L'Anson's case the enclosed plan does not show the dome); Soteriou, *Byzantina Mnemeia,* 55 (Mogabgab's plan, which is published here, shows the dome); Papageorghiou, "Art Byzantin", 221; Papageorghiou, "Crusader Influence", 277–78; Plagnieux and Soulard, "Architecture Réligieuse", 292.

57 Papacostas, "Gothic Basilica".

58 For a detailed discussion of the etching see: M. Walsh, " 'Othello', 'Turning Turk' and Cornelis de Bruyn's Copperplate of the Ottoman Port of Famagusta in the Seventeenth Century", in *Mariners Mirror* 98 (2012), 448–466.

59 Plagnieux and Soulard, "Architecture Réligieuse", 292. This opinion is supported by Jean Bernard de Vaivre in the same volume (J.-B. De Vaivre, "Sur les Pas de Camille Enlart en Chypre", in *L'Art Gothique En Chypre*, ed. J.-B. De Vaivre, and P. Plagnieux (Paris : Boccard, 2006), 15–58, here 25) and repeated in his most recent publication : J.-B. De Vaivre, *Monuments Médiévaux de Chypre. Photographies de la Mission de Camille Enlart en 1896* (Paris : Achcbyz, 2012), 122–123.

de Kogels, die 'er in geschooten zyn, en de Kerk wel ten halven overhoop hebben gesmeeten". [60]

Secondly, the details of both churches, such as the wide buttress of Hagios Georgios or the gables of the Latin cathedral, as well as the position of its minaret, match the real buildings very closely. Furthermore, the shadows display the original late-afternoon scenery described by De Bruyn earlier in his text, even if he states that he did the etching "with haste" and not "as carefully as possible", as is claimed in the English translation.[61]

Another pictorial source that has remained widely unremarked is Vasyl Barskyj's sketch of the city made in 1730 (fig. 28).[62] The drawing, from a bird's eye perspective, shows a cubic, domed building with buttresses behind the Latin cathedral. Barskyj's drawing skills were limited to be sure, but his recording of prominent elements like domes seems to have been executed with thoroughness in all his drawings.[63] Furthermore, the almost illegible inscription next to the building reads "αγ Γεωργ[ιος]", which confirms that Barskyj indeed refers to the Hagios Georgios cathedral.

However, while this proves the existence of a dome in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, it says nothing about this dome being part of the initial building. Papacostas' recent approach takes account of the sources, which he deems reliable, but denies the presence of a dome in the beginning.[64] He instead argues that the dome was added, together with the still visible strengthening of the nave piers, after the aforementioned major earthquake of 1491 that must have left the church severely damaged. The dome would then have been the work of Venetian architects and masons, who were indeed experienced in the construction of domes on high naves (as shown, e.g., by the most conspicuous example, the church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice). While this argument might seem convincing in the light of the technological knowledge of the time and the

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60 C. de Bruin [sic], *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn, door de vermaardste deelen van Klein Asia, de eylanden Scio, Rhodus, Cyprus, Metelino, Stanchio, &c. mitsgaders de voornaamste steden van Ägypten, Syrien en Palestina.* (Delft: Krooneveld, 1698), 366. It is important to go back to the Dutch text in this case, as the English translation differs slightly: "The mosque called S. Sophia seems very fine: it must indeed be as grand as its reputation. The pointed tower which crowns the building is highly ornamental. On the left of it is another mosque whose dome makes it very conspicuous. One can see the holes left by the cannon balls: half the church was destroyed in the siege." (Quoted from Cobham, *Excerpta*, 236). The French version even omits the description of the dome, which might have misled Soulard and de Vaivre. For a further discussion see Papacostas, "Gothic Basilica".

61 "Na den middag vervoegte ik my [...] na de Staad [...], alwaar ik op een kleynen Heuvel ging nederzitten, om de Stad metter haast af te teekenen". (De Bruin, *Reizen*, 365). The English translation quoted is from Cobham, *Excerpta*, 236.

62 For a detailed study of Barskyj's account of eighteenth century Cyprus see A. D. Grishin, *A Pilgrim's Account of Cyprus: Barskyj's Travels in Cyprus* (Nicosia: Greece and Cyprus Research Center, 1996). See also Papacostas, "Gothic Basilica".

63 See for example his drawing of Hagios Lazaros in Larnaca, which he shows with three drums but without domes—as it is the case in reality. (Grishin, *Travels*, pl 2)

64 Papacostas, "Gothic Basilica".

comparability of the typology—there is no other domed basilica from the fourteenth century in Cyprus—the material evidence of Hagios Georgios indicates otherwise.

As the central part of the church is almost completely destroyed, we have to look at the cut stones, which can be found all over the site (Fig. 22, 29). Among them, one finds a wide variety of profiled stones, which can be assigned to a small number of groups like vault ribs, portal arches, capitals and nave/aisle supports. For our problem, stones that belonged to the supports and the vault ribs are especially interesting. It is easy to trace a multitude of stones that belonged to the standard supports, as they are preserved on the aisle walls: a triplet of half circle profiles (C), each one corresponding to one rib (two diagonal and one transversal). Also the stones that belonged to the ribs and the transversal arches, most likely of identical pear-shape (A), are easily identifiable through the rests of the vault in the eastern aisle bays, and there is no reason to believe that the standard system in the nave was different from the aisles. Yet there are two types of profiles among the stones on the ground that are not identifiable in the parts of the building that are still standing. One is composed of a smaller half-circle profile which is attached to the side of a much bigger half circle (D). The other resembles an expanded version of the rib profile: a large half circle with two smaller half circles attached at both sides (B). The only possible explanation for these profiles is to assign them to the central bay, where the stones certainly formed part of the supports and transverse arches. The smaller circular profile of D matches the diameter of the half circles in profile C, which confirms its use in the support system. This in turn means that there was only a support for the diagonal rib of the adjoining bays but no support for another diagonal rib in the central bay. Instead, the reinforced support carried the—also reinforced—transverse arches of the central bay that belong to profile B. The use of two reinforced transverse arches with a simultaneous absence of diagonal ribs clearly proves a heavy, centralized superstructure, which can only have been a dome.

The assignment of the two "new" profiles is further supported by two singular stones (I and II), both showing intersection points between profiles. Stone I shows the transverse arch profile B and, at a 45° angle, the rib profile A, so the stone can be located in the first or second course above the clerestory capitals. Stone II is composed of the nave arch profile E and the support profile D, at a right angle to each other; thus it originates from the lower courses of the central bay supports. Through these stones, not only can the location of Profiles B and D be determined but also in general it can be demonstrated that the stones belonged to the church of Hagios Georgios.

The consistency of the support system strongly indicates that the dome was no afterthought, and the still visible parts of the church show no sign of a later change in the vaults or the arcades. In addition, the vault ribs and nave arches interlocked with the support system for the dome, which thus had to be part of the initial plan. The dome, which reached a height of nearly thirty meters, made the finished church the highest sacral building in Cyprus in the Middle Ages (Fig 30).

Changes and decay: between 1400 and 1735

Apparently, the lack of experience of constructing a church with the combination of a basilica clerestory and a dome led to static problems—thus confirming to some extent the doubts of the technical viability of the project cast by the opponents of the dome theory. The piers originally having a diameter of 1.4 metres were therefore encased with an additional layer of ashlars, increasing the diameter to over two metres (Fig. 31). The new shell was secured with iron clamps—so the reinforcement was certainly part of an attempt at static improvement, probably in reaction to signs of a weakening of the piers. The most probable date for this large-scale repair of the church is in the aftermath of the big earthquake of 1491, which, as Papacostas states, certainly damaged the church.[65] This in turn also confirms the presence of the dome from the beginning, disproving the idea of it being a later addition: would the builders have dared to add a heavy dome to an already weakened structure, which had to be secured with considerable effort after an earthquake?

The other changes made during the Genoese and Venetian periods are of a rather decorative and functional character: an enormous *templon*, made of stone, was added between the fourth and the fifth bay, and a wooden gallery, which was accessed through the first aisle window, was inserted in the southern aisle. The corbels, decorated with a Renaissance ornament, on the outside, under the window—which was transformed into a doorway—supported a small balcony that connected the gallery with the stair tower (Fig. 21). None of these changes is dated securely, but a link with the restoration of the church after 1491 seems likely.[66]

The last point requiring clarification is the date of the destruction of Hagios Georgios. We know from the aforementioned report of Angelo Calepio that the Greeks were allowed to keep their cathedral after the Ottoman conquest of 1571.[67] Still, in what state was the cathedral after numerous cannonballs had hit it during the cannonade of the city? De Bruyn draws the church with an intact dome over a century later, in 1683, but describes the building as "half destroyed".[68] The cannonballs that struck the complex are still visible today, stuck in the masonry of the southern and eastern walls of Hagios Georgios. While this has occasionally led to the belief that the church was destroyed already in 1571, it rather indicates the opposite: the wall's thickness was strong enough to allow the cannonballs to penetrate the outer shell only. The vaults

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65 See Papacostas, "Gothic Basilica", for a comprehensive list of accounts of the earthquake. Papacostas refers especially to a contemporary Italian note, which lists a church of "san zorzo [=giorgio, T.K.] ala greca" among the ruined buildings.

66 Jeffery, "Byzantine Churches", 131; Papacostas, "Gothic Basilica".

67 See footnote 12.

68 De Bruin, *Reizen*, 366.

alone, which were much thinner, may have suffered more extensive damage.[69] Yet, since the dome continued to survive, the structural integrity of the vaults, which were necessary for the dome's stability, seems not to have been disturbed. Probably the Orthodox community continued using the church as long as possible but inevitably did not have the funds required for the constant upkeep or for repair of the damages. This probably led to a partial collapse, as described by De Bruyn, after which the church was abandoned. The fact that no stones from the pavement of the church were found during the removal of the debris in the 1930s might suggest that the church was abandoned already before the dome and the clerestory caved in. After the large church became unusable at an unknown date, the smaller church of Hagios Epiphanios probably took over its function as the main Greek Church, which could explain its somewhat better condition at the beginning of the twentieth century.

It was, finally, the severe earthquake of 1735 that removed the dome off the skyline of Famagusta, which it had dominated for almost 400 years. The definite collapse of the building has been described only in a few prosaic words by the pilgrim Richard Pococke in 1738: "St George's, one of the most magnificent [churches], was thrown down by the earthquake".[70] Presumably, it was one of the northern piers of the central bay which first gave in, as the northern aisle was almost completely destroyed and the debris scattered to the north. The fate of Hagios Epiphanios at the time of this earthquake is unknown but it probably did not suffer any grave damage, since the southern aisle wall of Hagios Georgios also remained intact. Nevertheless, with the collapse of the northern domes of Hagios Epiphanios—again at an uncertain date—the complex became simply the most impressive ruin in the centre of a deserted city, waiting for its rediscovery.

Concluding Overview

During the 700 years of its existence, the complex underwent numerous smaller and larger changes and renovations, transforming the initial, modest chapel of unknown shape into one of the largest Orthodox church complexes in the Eastern Mediterranean. In summary, the study of the building as well as of the textual and pictorial sources has uncovered the following key stages of the building. While the relative chronology is mostly certain, the absolute dating of the phases represents hypothetical results based on the argumentation presented above.

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69 Ata Atun, however, argues that the vault's strength would have been sufficient to resist the impact of a cannonball. See A. Atun, "Structural Analysis of the Main Apse Vault of Saint George of the Greeks Cathedral Built c. 1390 at Famagusta, Cyprus", in Structural Studies, Repairs and Maintenance of Heritage Architecture VIII, ed C. A. Brebbia (Southampton: WIT, 2003), 359–67.

70 Richard Pococke, 1738, quoted from Cobham, *Excerpta*, 236. See also Walsh, "Copperplate", 454.

c. 1000	First chapel of uncertain shape, perhaps including even older structures.
c. 1100	Erection of a cross-in-square church, using parts of the previous foundations and walls.
12th cent.	Addition of a domed narthex to the west.
p. 1222	Reconstruction of the upper walls and vaults of the central bay following an earthquake in 1222.
c. 1310/20	Addition of a second nave in dome-hall shape, insertion of groin vaults in the western cross arm of the older structure.
c. 1330	Addition of a domed bay to the west of the southern nave, erection of a new façade.
c. 1350–1374	Erection of the new cathedral to the north of the older church according to a consistent plan: a three-aisled basilica with rounded apses and a dome over the central bay.
p. 1491	Reconstruction of some vaults of the older church following an earthquake in 1491. Simultaneous reinforcement of the piers in the new church.
1571	Damages to the complex by Ottoman cannonade, subsequently progressive decay.
1735	Collapse of the dome of Hagios Georgios.
a. 1860	Collapse of the northern domes of Hagios Epiphanios.
c. 1910	Collapse of the southern domes of Hagios Epiphanios.
1941	East end of Hagios Epiphanios destroyed by war bombing, subsequently reconstructed.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Benjamin Arbel is Professor Emeritus of Early Modern History at the Department of History of Tel Aviv University. He also holds the Salonica Chair for the History and Culture of the Jews of Greece at the same university, and is co-editor of the *Mediterranean Historical Review*. His areas of interest include the social, cultural and economic history of the Eastern Mediterranean during the early modern period, with special emphasis on Venice's overseas empire and maritime trade, as well as human-animal interaction during the Renaissance period. His main publications include: *Trading Nations: Jews and Venetians in the Early Modern Eastern Mediterranean* (Leiden & New York, 1995); *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice* (Aldershot, 2000); *The Italian Renaissance: The Growth of a Secular Culture* (Tel Aviv, 2000) [in Hebrew]; and *Venetian Letters from the Archives of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation and Other Cypriot Collections* (Nicosia, 2007). He has also edited, with D. Jacoby and B. Hamilton, *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (London, 1989); *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of David Jacoby* (London, 1995); with J. Terkel and S. Menache, *Human Beings and other Animals in Historical Perspective* (Jerusalem, 2007) [in Hebrew]; and with Evelien Chayes and Harald Hendrix, *Cyprus and the Renaissance* (Turnhout, 2013).

Michele Bacci, Professor of Medieval Art History at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland, is the author of several publications on the cultural and art-historical contacts of East and West in the Middle Ages and on the history of the religious practices associated with cult-objects and holy sites. His books include: *Il pennello dell'Evangelista* (1998), *Pro remedio animae* (2000), *Lo spazio dell'anima* (2005) and *San Nicola il Grande Taumaturgo* (2009). He is editor-in-chief of the periodical *Iconographica* and director of the Institute of Medieval Studies at Fribourg University.

Michel Balard is a long-standing member of the Ecole Française de Rome, Emeritus Professor of Medieval History at the University of Paris 1-Sorbonne and President of the Federation of the Historical and Archaeological Societies of Paris and the Ile de France.

Specializing in the history of Genoa, the Crusader states of the Latin East and the Black Sea region, he has published over 30 books, the most recent being *Les Latins en Orient XIe-XVe siècle* (Paris, PUF, 2006), *Les marchands italiens à Chypre* (Nicosia, 2007); and, with William Duba and Chistopher Schabel, *Actes de Famagouste di notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto* (Nicosia, 2012). Currently in press is his *Histoire de la Méditerranée médiévale* (Paris, Hachette).

Pierre-Vincent Claverie was awarded his Ph.D in 2004 from the Université de Paris I. He currently works in the French Parliament. He has published forty studies about the Crusades, the Latin Church and the Military Orders, including *L'ordre du Temple en Terre sainte et à Chypre au XIII^e siècle* (Cyprus Research Centre, 2005) and *Honorius III et l'Orient (1216-1227)* (Leiden, 2013). His next book will deal with the fall of the kingdom of Mallorca in 1343-1344.

Nicholas S.H. Coureas studied ancient and medieval history at the University of London and currently works as a Senior Researcher at the Cyprus Research Centre in Nicosia, Cyprus. He has published numerous articles and several books on the history of Lusignan Cyprus, including two monographs titled *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1195-1312* (Ashgate 1997) and *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1313-1378* (Nicosia, 2010). He has also co-edited a number of conference proceedings on the history of medieval and early modern Cyprus, the latest being *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta: Studies in Architecture, Art and History* (Ashgate, 2012), co-edited with M. J. K. Walsh and P. W. Edbury.

David Jacoby, Professor Emeritus, was born in 1928. He acquired his BA and MA at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and his PhD at the Sorbonne, Paris. He has taught medieval history in the Department of History at the Hebrew University, was Visiting Professor at several universities in the U.S.A. and in Venice, and was the recipient of fellowships and research grants in the U.S.A., France, Italy, Germany, Austria and Greece. In 1973 he was awarded the Prix Gustave Schlumberger of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in Paris. His main fields of research and publication are intercultural exchange between the West and the Eastern Mediterranean from the 9th-15th centuries; silk production and trade in the Middle Ages; and the Jews in the medieval Mediterranean. His latest collections of studies are *Commercial Exchange Across the Mediterranean: Byzantium, the Crusader Levant, Egypt and Italy* (Aldershot, 2005); *Latins, Greeks and Muslims: Encounters in the Eastern Mediterranean, Tenth-Fifteenth Centuries* (Farnham, 2009).

Thomas Kaffenberger graduated from the Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz with a thesis on Saint George of the Greeks, Famagusta. Since 2012 he has been preparing a PhD thesis on Orthodox church architecture in Cyprus between 14th and 16th centuries, which will be submitted at the University of Mainz and King's College London. He worked previously as a visiting lecturer at the universities of Mainz and Heidelberg. His latest publications include articles and books about late antique and medieval

Cypriot church architecture and German vernacular architecture around 1900, for example *Lebensräume gestalten. Heinrich Metzendorf und die Reformarchitektur an der Bergstraße* (Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft Worms, 2013).

Tamás Kiss holds an MPhil degree in English and Drama from Queen Mary University (London), an MA in English from ELTE (Budapest), an MA in Turkish and Ottoman Studies from ELTE, and is currently a doctoral candidate at Central European University's Medieval Studies Department in Budapest as well as a New Europe College Fellow in Bucharest. His doctoral dissertation is about Cyprus in Ottoman and Venetian political imagination between 1489 and 1582, but his academic interests also include sixteenth-century Habsburg-Ottoman imperial rivalry in the Mediterranean, trans-cultural cultural semiotics between the Ottoman Empire and Christendom, and early modern England's views of the Eastern Mediterranean. His publications include "Turkish Cypriot Epics about Outlaws, Bandits and Murderers" (*Journal of Cyprus Studies*, 2005). He co-edited with Michael J. K. Walsh *Journal of Cyprus Studies* 26/27 and is also chief editor at CEU Medieval Radio.

Allan Langdale taught at Eastern Mediterranean University from 2005-2007 and has written several articles on the art and architecture of Famagusta, including *At the Edge of Empire: Venetian Architecture in Famagusta, Cyprus* (2010) and *Notes on the Marginal Sculpture of St Nicholas Cathedral* (2012). He is the author of the definitive guidebook *In a Contested Realm: an Illustrated Guide to the Archaeology and Historical Architecture of Northern Cyprus* (2012), and was the writer and co-producer/co-director of the award-winning documentary film *The Stones of Famagusta: the Story of a Forgotten City* (2008).

Maria Paschali studied history and archaeology at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, before coming to the UK where she received her MA degrees in Museum Studies from the International Centre for Cultural and Heritage Studies, University of Newcastle, and in History of Art from the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London. She is currently doctoral candidate in History of Art at the Courtauld. Her doctoral research focuses on the wall paintings of medieval Famagusta and examines the use of images in churches of different creeds and nations. She has taught Classical and Byzantine art at the Courtauld. Most recently, she was engaged in a project on medieval Famagusta that led to her chapter titled 'Mural Decoration in Saint George of the Greeks' in *Famagusta: Art and Architecture*, ed. Annemarie Weyl-Carr (Brepols, in press).

Ulrike Ritzerfeld has studied at the Universities of Münster, Freiburg, Bonn and Rome. She worked for one year at the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence and six years at the Freie Universität Berlin in the Department of Art History on a project about the art of the medieval mendicant orders in the eastern Mediterranean. Currently she is a fellow of the Deutsche Studienzentrum in Venice. Some previous publications include: (coedited with M. Mersch), *Lateinisch-griechisch-arabische Begegnungen.*

Kulturelle Diversität im Mittelmeerraum des Spätmittelalters (Berlin, 2009); her dissertation *Pietas – Caritas – Societas. Zur Bilddekoration laikaler Fürsorgeeinrichtungen im spätmittelalterlichen Italien am Beispiel der ‚Werke der Barmherzigkeit'* (Bonn, 2007); (with S. Burkhardt, M. Mersch, and S. Schröder), "Hybridisierung von Zeichen und Formen durch mediterrane Eliten" (Berlin 2011); and "The language of power: Transgressing Cultural Borders in Luxury Metal Objects of the Lusignan" (forthcoming).

Philippe Trélat received his Ph.D. in medieval history from the University of Rouen (France) in December 2009 with a dissertation entitled "Nicosie, une capitale de l'Orient latin (1192-1474), société, économie et espace urbain". He is an associate member of the GRHIS (Groupe de Recherche d'Histoire de l'Université de Rouen). He is particularly interested in the urban history of the Eastern Mediterranean, and has published various articles on the commercial and religious aspects of the history of medieval Nicosia. He is currently engaged in an ANR project "People, pottery and food in the medieval Eastern Mediteranean".

Michael J. K. Walsh took his graduate degrees from the Universities of Cambridge, St. Andrews and York and then was, for nine years, employed at Eastern Mediterranean University in the Department of Archaeology and Art History. In this time he successfully nominated Famagusta for inclusion in the World Monuments Fund Watch List, brought the Global Heritage Fund to the same city, and in 2010 acted as team co-ordinator for the United Nations project 'Cultural Heritage Data Collection in the northern part of Cyprus'. He was elected Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts in the same year. Some previous publications include: *This Cult of Violence* (Yale University Press, 2002), *London, Modernism and 1914* (Cambridge University Press, 2010) and, co-edited with Nicholas Coureas and Peter Edbury, *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta* (Ashgate, 2012). He is currently Associate Professor of Art History and Associate Chair (Research) in the School of Art, Design and Media at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore.

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Abbreviations: abb.- abbot; abp.- archbishop; adn.- archdeacon; Arm.- Armenian; Aug.- Augustinian; Ben.- Benedictine; bp.- bishop; bro.- brother; can.- canon; Carm.- Carmelite; cd.- cardinal; chn.- chancellor; chr.- chronicle; cpl.- chaplain; csn.- cousin; cst.- constable; ct.- count; d.- daughter; dn.- deacon; dioc.- diocese; Dom.- Dominican; emp.- emperor; Fr.- French; Fran.- Franciscan; Gen.- Genoese; Gk.- Greek; Hosp.- Hospitaller; hse.- house; J.lem.- Jerusalem; k.- king; Lat.- Latin; lg.- legate; Mar.- Maronite; mon.- monastery; Nst.- Nestorian; np.- nephew; pr.- prince; Prae.- Praemonstratensian; ptr.- patriarch; q.- queen; s.- sister/son; sen.- seneschal; Tpl.- Templar; vct.- viscount; Ven.- Venetian.

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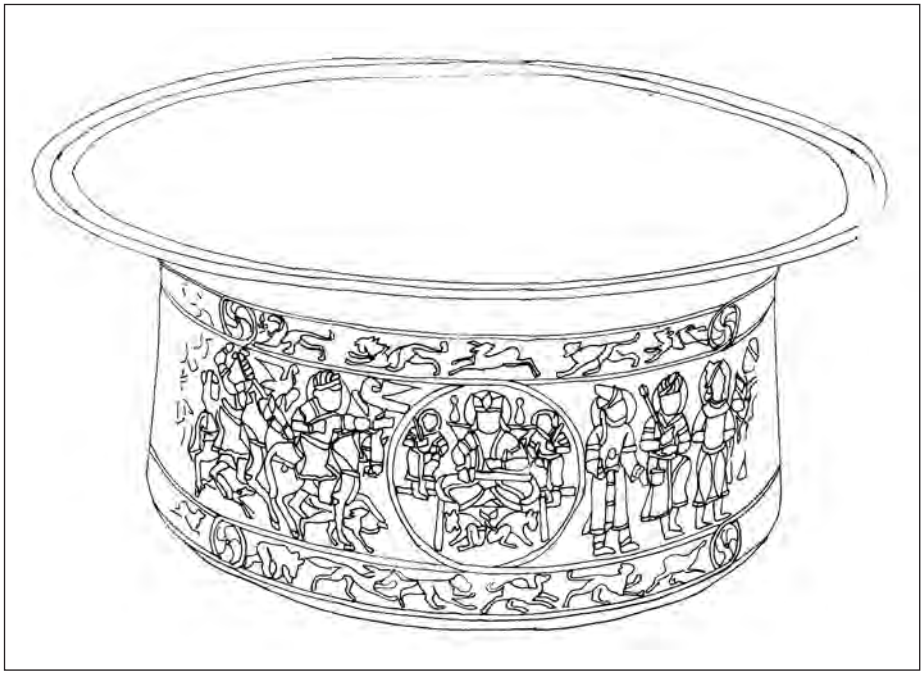

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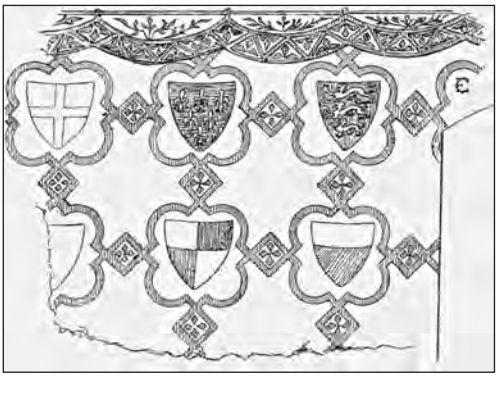

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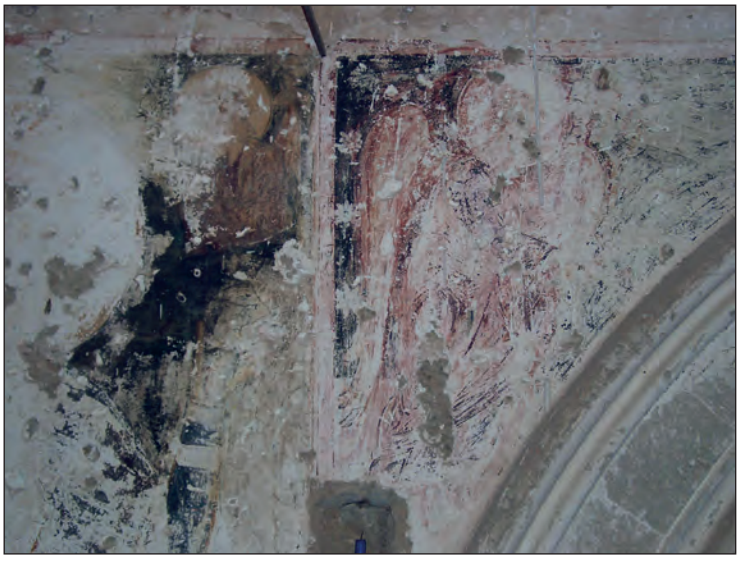

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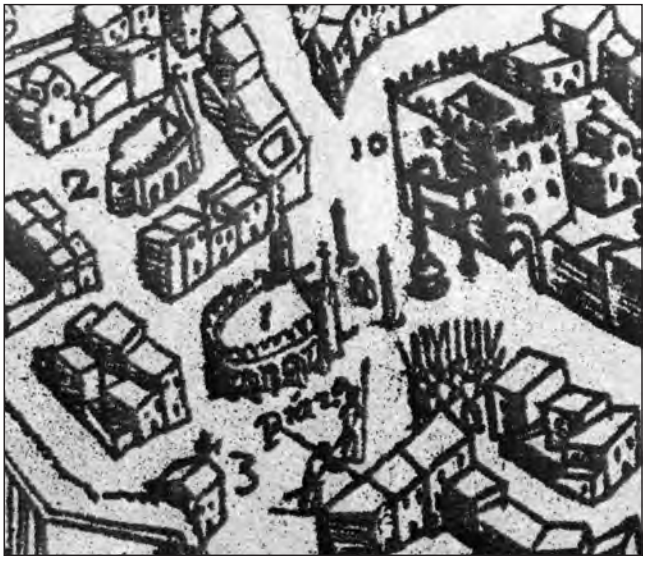

Figure 3. Detail from Stephano Gibellino's Print of the Siege of Famagusta, 1571.

Figure 4. The So-called Tomb of Venus in Famagusta – Allan Langdale

Figure 5. Relief of Animals in Vine Motif, Spolia from Salamis along the North Side of the Loggia Bembo in Famagusta's Main Square. Used to Make a Panca or Bench – Allan Langdale

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Figure 1. Churches of Famagusta, c. 1940 – Postcard, Collection of the Author

Figure 2. Hagios Georgios (right) and Hagios Epiphanios (left) – Thomas Kaffenberger

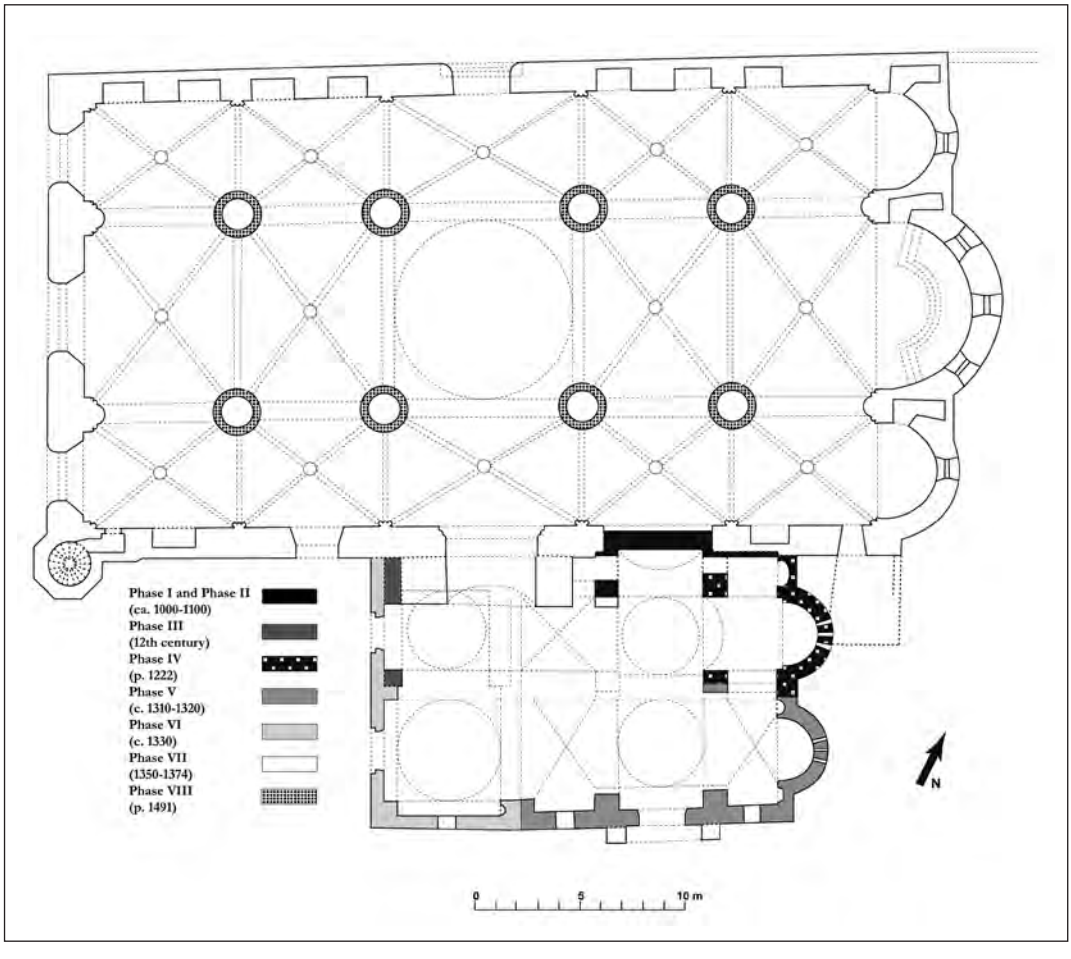

Figure 3. Hagios Georgios and Hagios Epiphanios, Plan – Thomas Kaffenberger, 2011

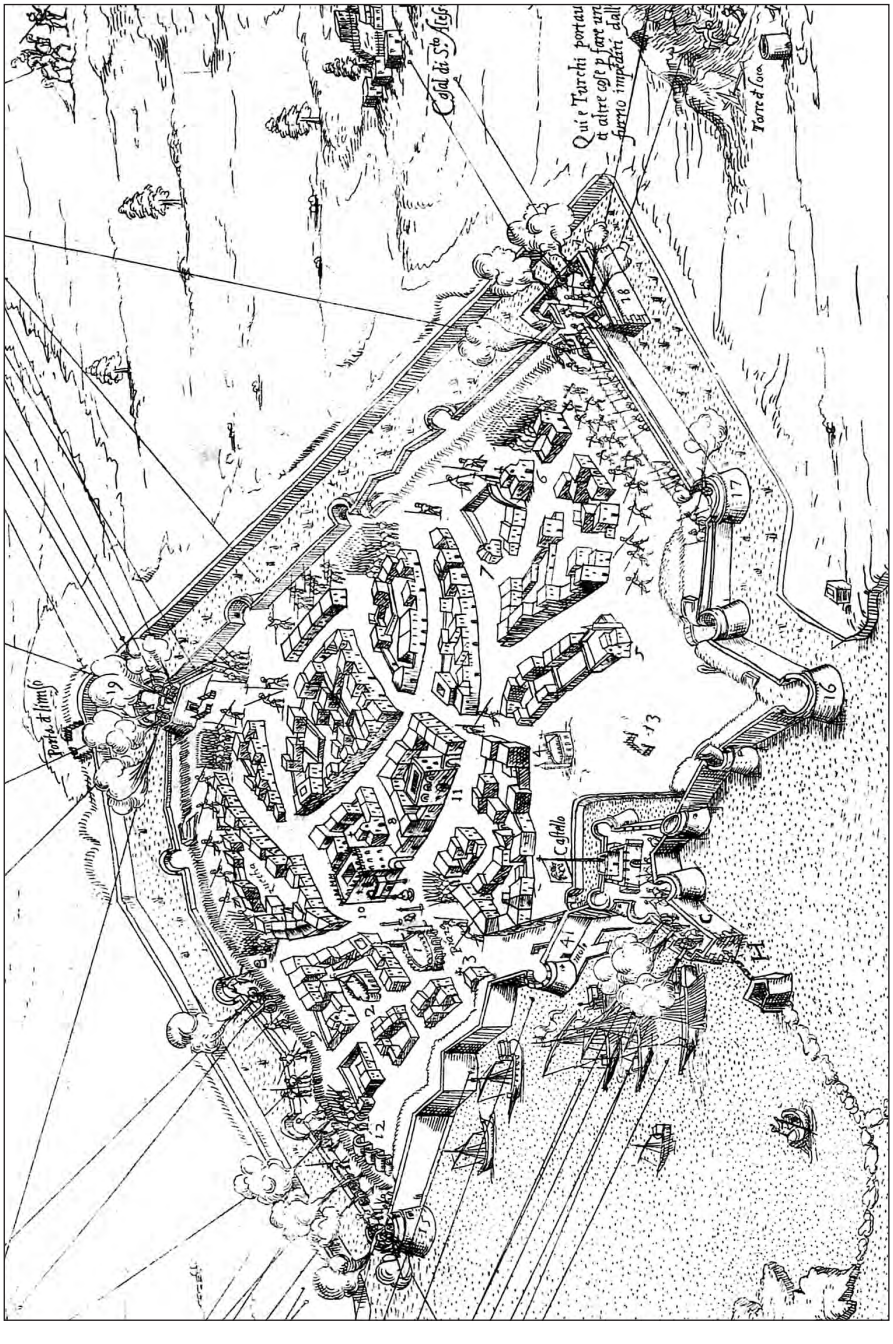

Figure 4. The Siege of Famagusta, Engraving, Detail, 1571 – Stefano Gibellino

Figure 5.
Hagios Epiphanios,
Interior to East –
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Figure 6. Hagios Epiphanios,
Northern Transept Wall –
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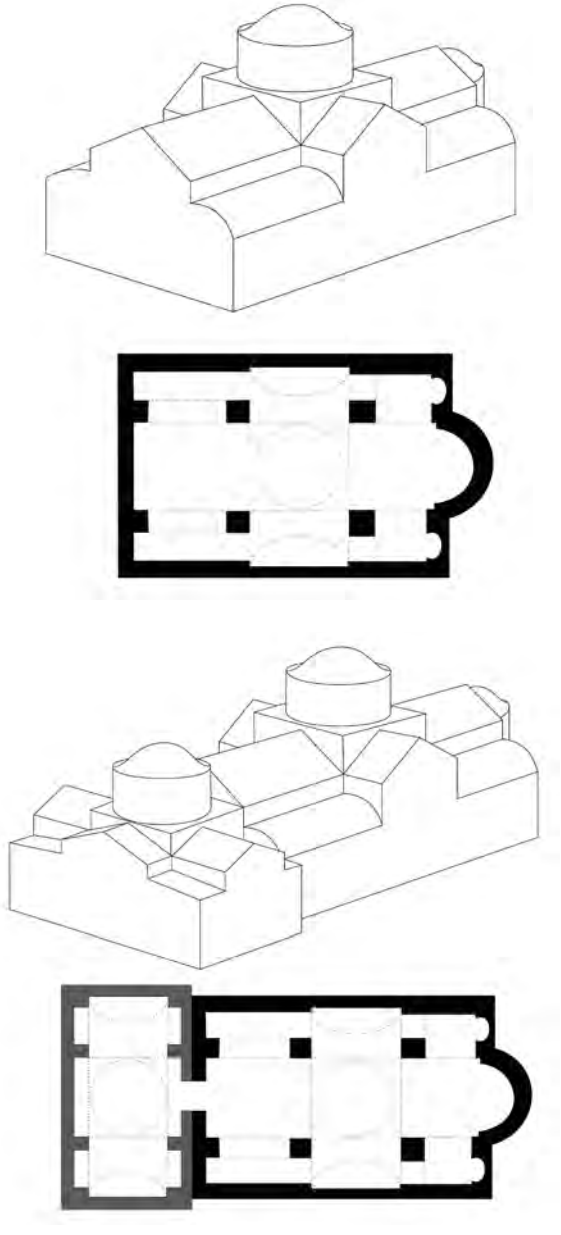

Figure 7. Hagios Epiphanios, First and Second Stage – Thomas Kaffenberger, 2011

Figure 8. Hagios Epiphanios, West End of Northern Nave – Thomas Kaffenberger

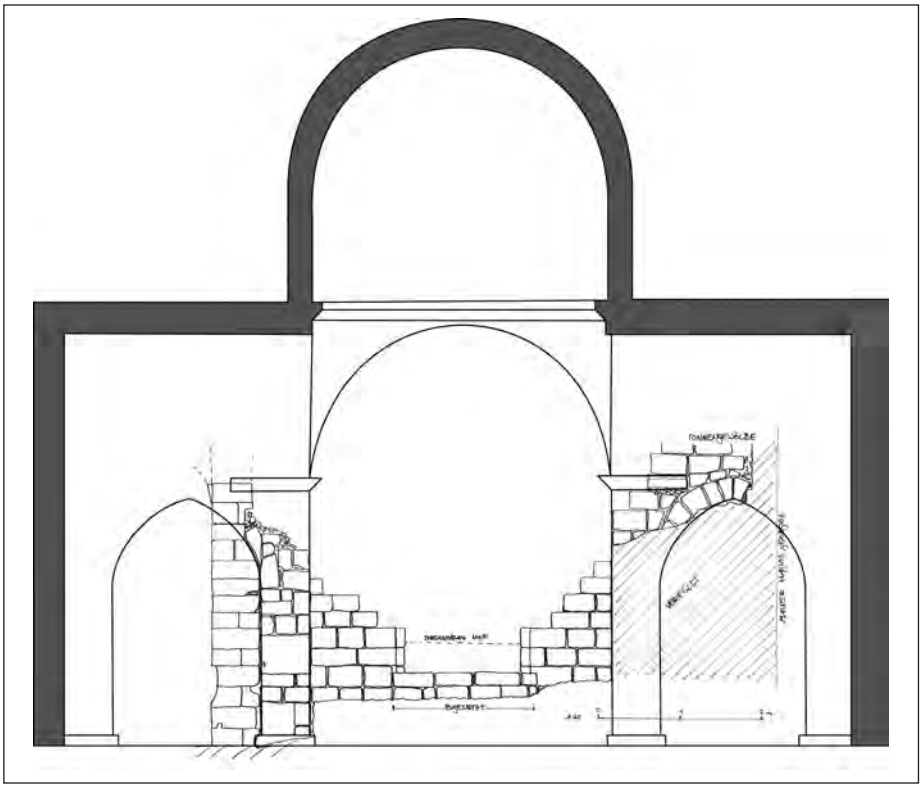

Figure 9. Hagios Epiphanios, Plan of Western Wall and Reconstruction of Narthex – Thomas Kaffenberger, 2011

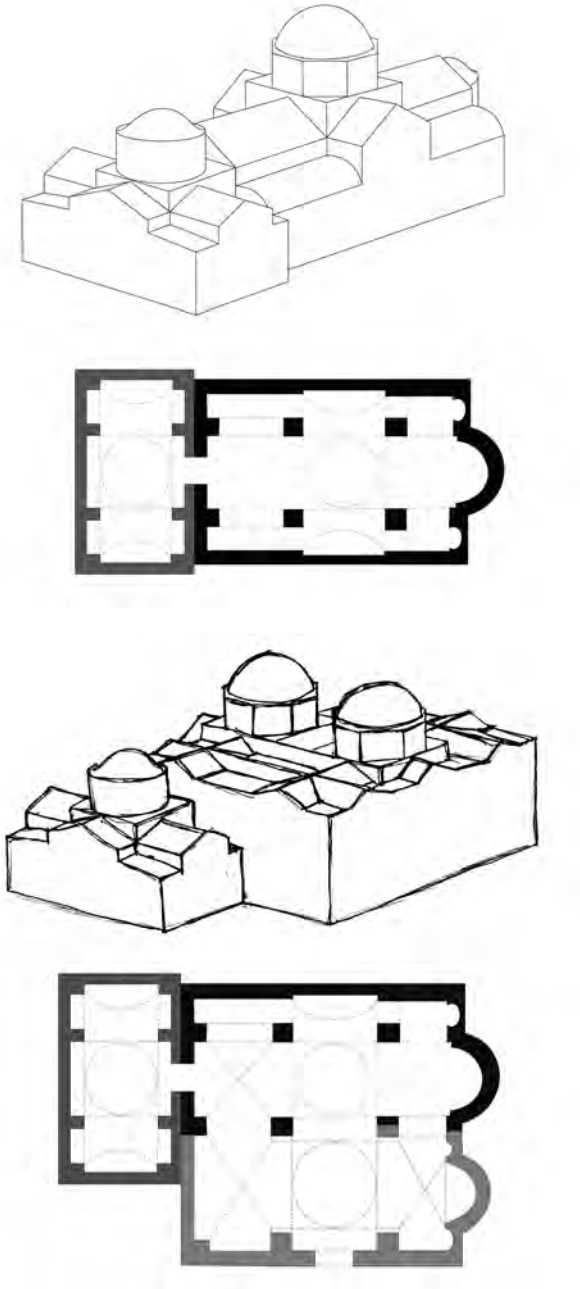

Figure 10a. Hagios Epiphanios, Fourth and Fifth Stage – Thomas Kaffenberger, 2011

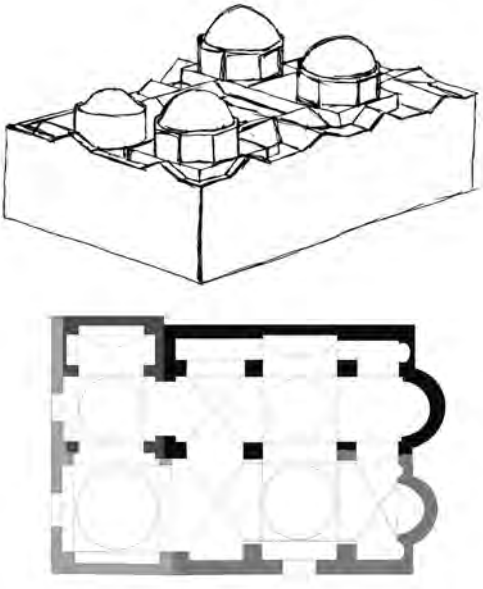

Figure 10b.
Hagios Epiphanios,
Sixth Stage – Thomas
Kaffenberger, 2011

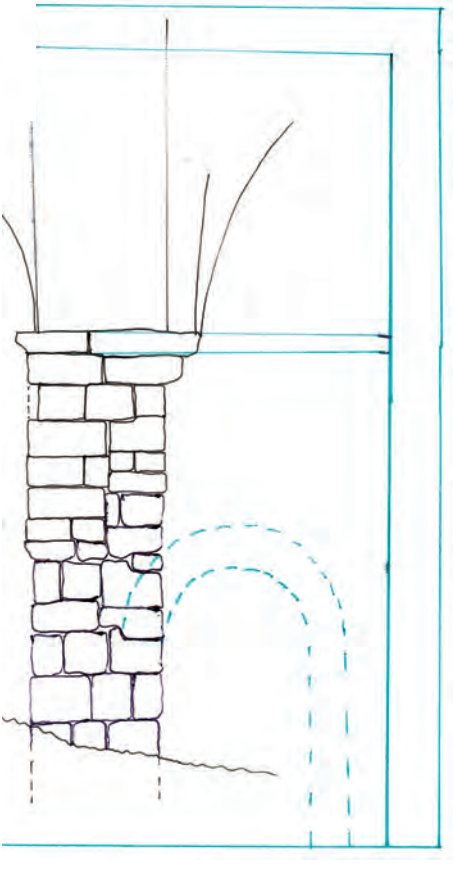

Figure 11.
Hagios Epiphanios, Central
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Thomas Kaffenberger, 2011

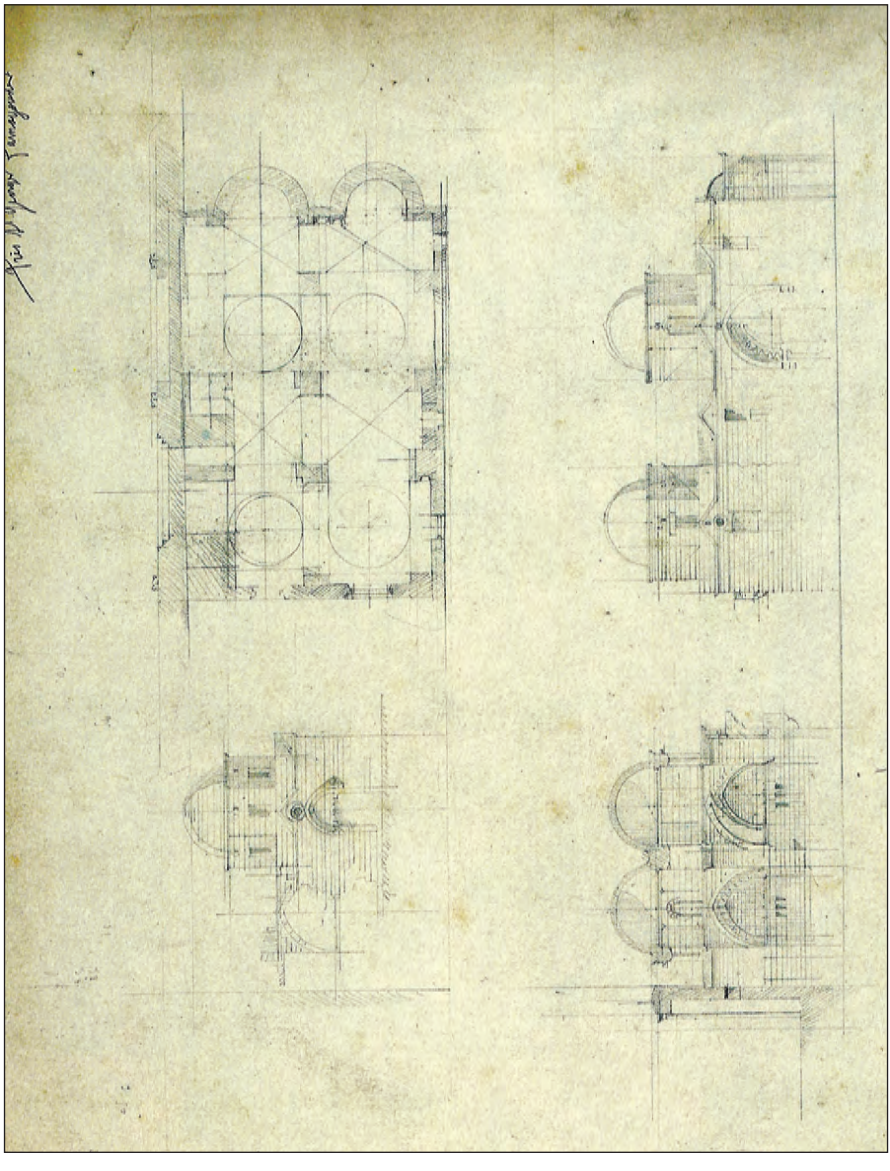

Figure 12. Hagios Epiphanios, Elevations, Section and Plan, c. 1860 – Edmond Duthoit

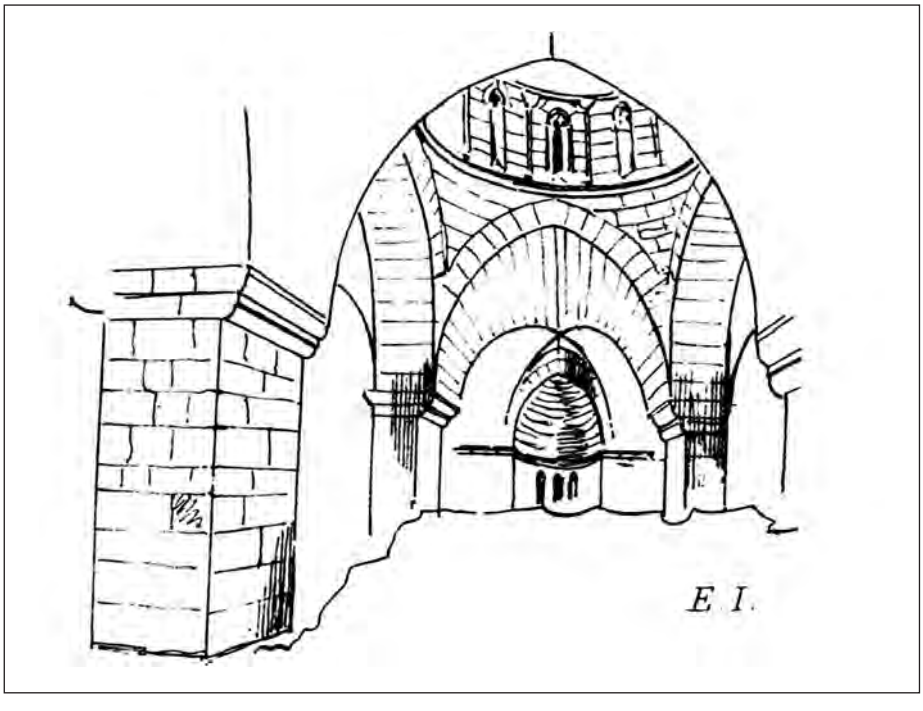

Figure 13. Hagios Epiphanios, Southern Nave in the 1880s – Edward L 'Anson

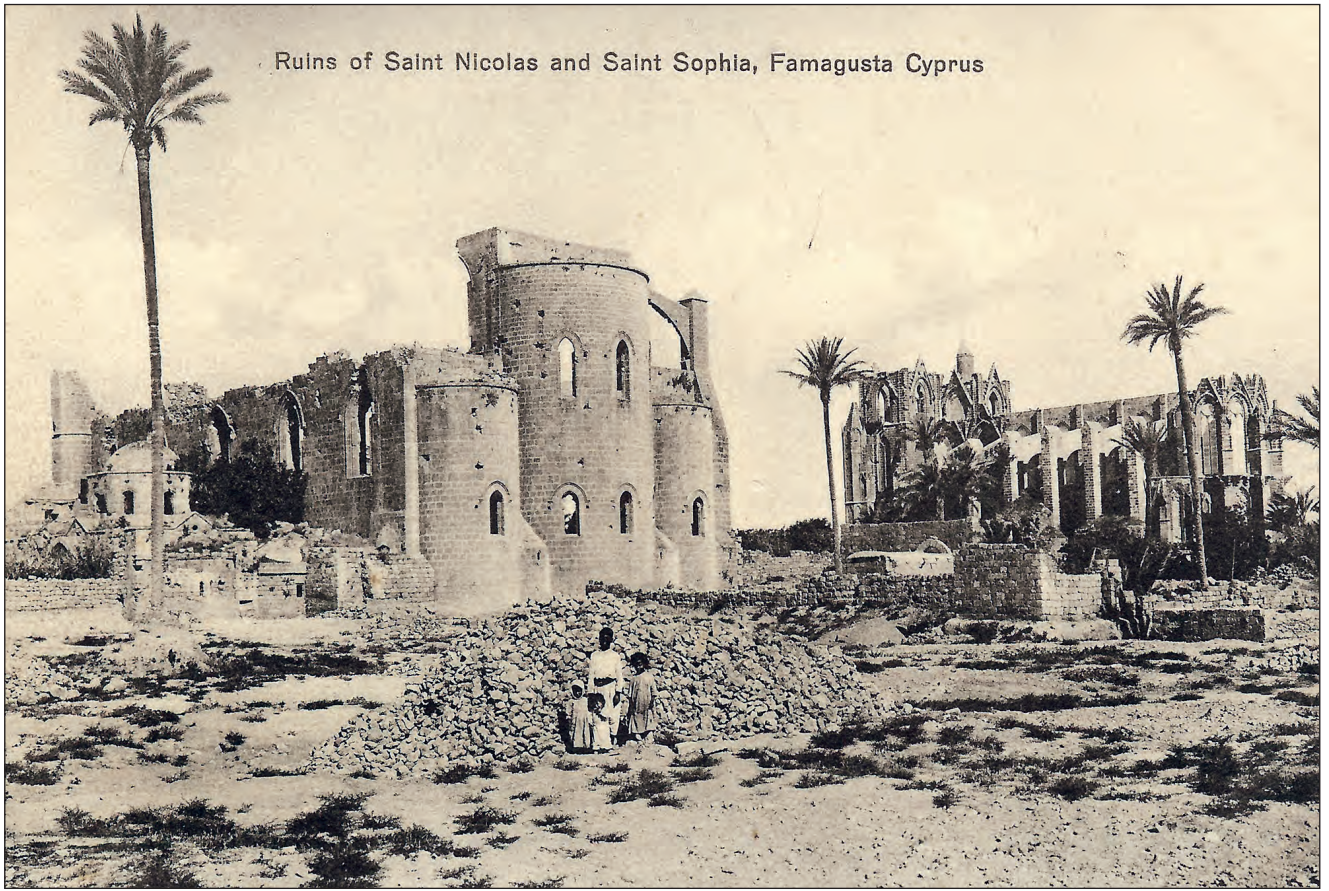

Figure 14. Hagios Epiphanios, Hagios Georgios, Saint Nicholas,c. 1900. Postcard by J.P. Foscolo – Collection of the Author

Figure 15. Hagios Georgios Exorinos – Thomas Kaffenberger

Figure 16. Hagios Epiphnaios, Southern Portal – Thomas Kaffenberger

Figure 17. Hagios Georgios Exorinos, Rest of Arch on the South-West-Corner – Thomas Kaffenberger

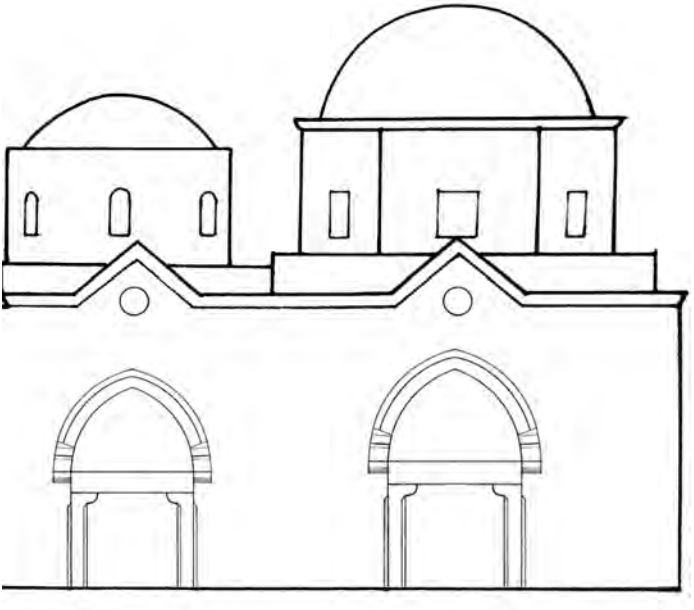

Figure 18. Hagios Epiphanios, Façade – Thomas Kaffenberger

Figure 19.
Hagios Georgios,
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Thomas Kaffenberger

Figure 20.
Hagios Georgios,
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Figure 21. Hagios Georgios and Hagios Epiphanios from South-West

Figure 22. Hagios Georgios, Excavation and Sorting of the Debris c. 1935 – Theophilus Mogabgab (?)

Figure 23. Hagios Georgios from West – Thomas Kaffenberger

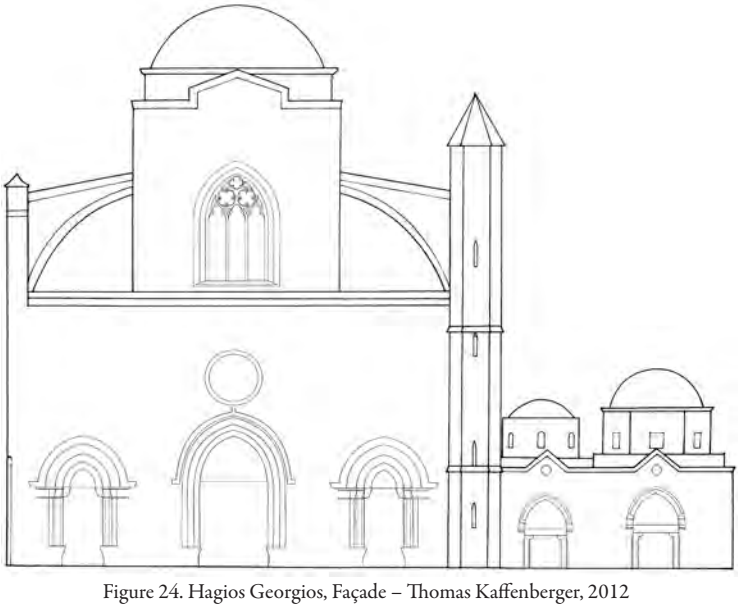

Figure 24. Hagios Georgios, Façade – Thomas Kaffenberger, 2012

Figure 25. *View of Famagusta*, Engraving, 1698 - Cornelis de Bruyn

Figure 26. Ss Peter and Paul, Nave Elevation – Thomas Kaffenberger

Figure 27. Hagios Georgios, Interior to East – Thomas Kaffenberger

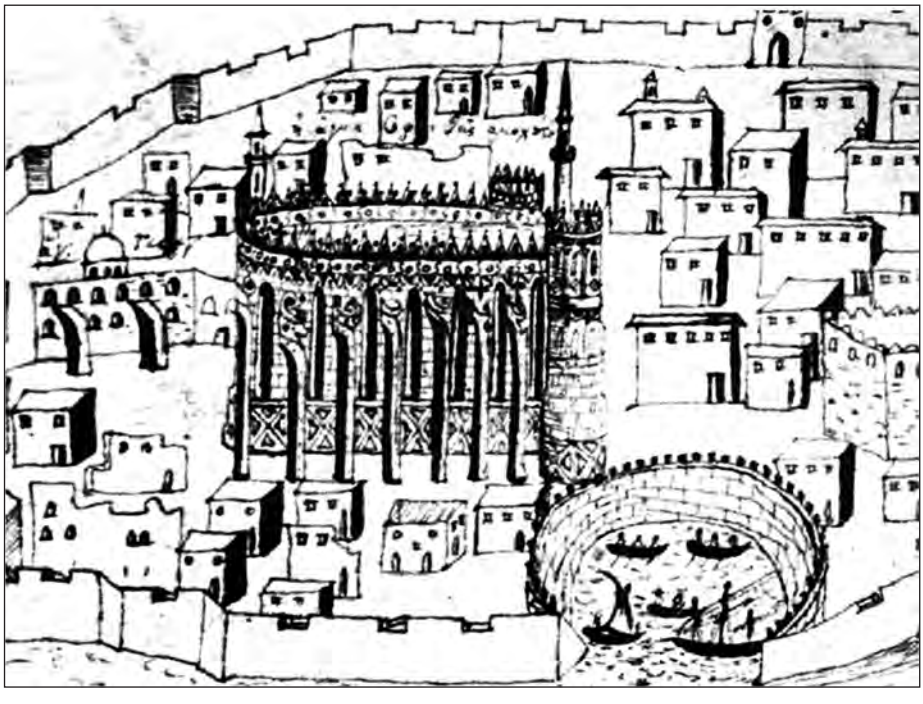

Figure 28. Birds-eye View of Famagusta, Detail, c. 1735 – Vasyl Barskyj

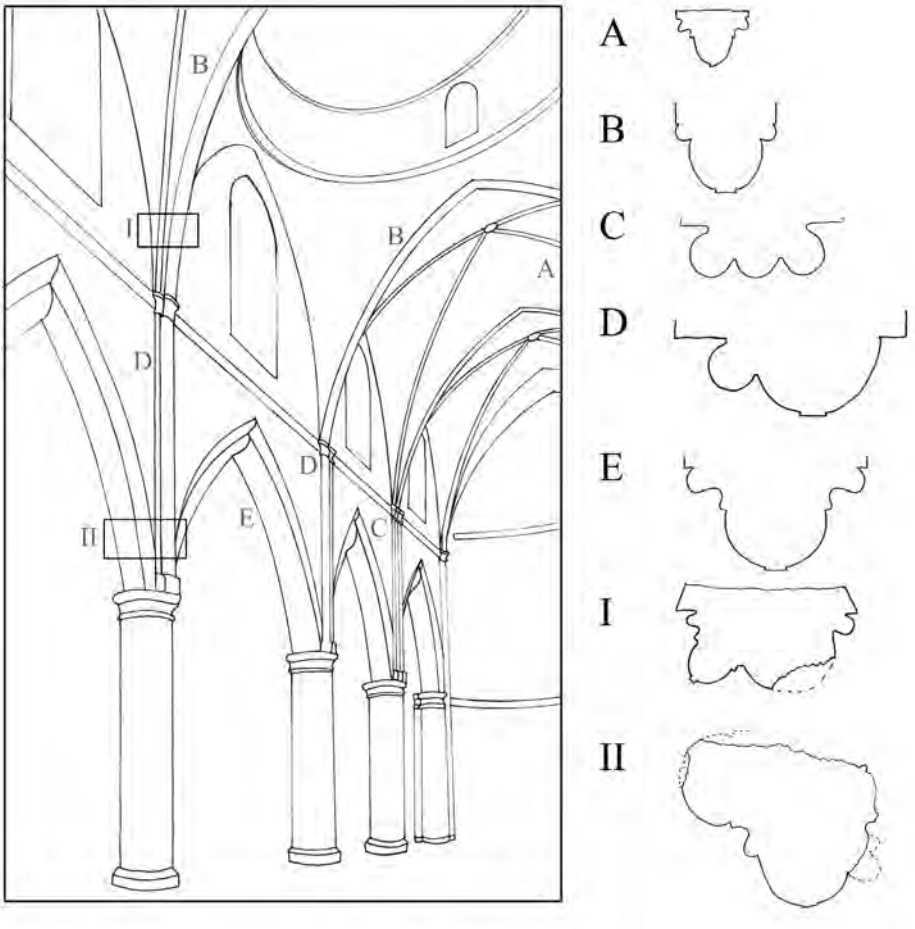

Figure 29. Hagios Georgios, Reconstruction of the Nave with Corresponding Profiles – Thomas Kaffenberger, 2013

Figure 30. 3d-model of Hagios Georgios and Hagios Epiphanios – Sven J. Norris, 2013

Figure 31. Hagios Georgios, Enforced Pier – Thomas Kaffenberger